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aspects, and the information so gained often afforded valuable corroboration of what I had been told on other occasions and by other individuals. Thus, in obtaining a prayer, various matters would arise which would confirm the accuracy of a legend obtained weeks earlier, or the investigation of a funeral custom would lead to the indirect corroboration of evidence concerning the regulation of marriage. 124

The most important way in which this method of indirect corroboration may be intentionally applied is by obtaining the same information first in an abstract form and then by means of a number of concrete instances. As an example of what I mean I may cite the method by which I inquired into the laws of inheritance of property. I first obtained an account of what was done in the abstract—of the laws governing the inheritance of houses, the division of the buffaloes and other property among the children, &c. Next I gave a number of hypothetical concrete instances; I took cases of men with so many children and so many buffaloes, and repeating the cases I found that my informant gave answers which were consistent not only with one another but also with the abstract regulations previously given. Finally I took real persons and inquired into what had actually happened when A or B died, and again obtained a body of information consistent in itself and agreeing with that already obtained.

By far my most valuable instrument of inquiry was that provided by the genealogical method.[1] The Todas preserve in their memories the names of all their ancestors and relatives extending back for several generations. In the tables given at the end of this book, I have recorded the pedigrees of seventy-two families, including the whole of the Toda community. Whenever the name of a man was mentioned in connexion with ceremony or social custom, his name was found in the genealogical record and the relation was ascertained in which he stood towards others participating in the ceremony or custom. By this means a concrete element was brought into the work which greatly facilitated inquiry. 124 173 601

[1] See chapter XX and *Journ. Anthrop. Inst.*, 1900, vol. xxx., p. 74.

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Customs and rites were investigated by means of concrete examples in which the people taking part were real people to me as well as to my informants. In a later chapter I shall consider more fully the *rôle* of the genealogies in anthropological investigation. I mention them here to give a preliminary indication of the extensive part they played in my investigations. In order to give my readers the opportunity of following my method in some measure for themselves, I have given after the name of any individual mentioned in the book the number of the genealogical table in which his name occurs; thus "Kòdrner (7)" means that Kòdrner is a member of the family of which the pedigree is recorded in Table 7.

124

I have already referred to the trustworthiness of the evidence given by the Todas. I must now speak of the great differences in this respect shown by different individuals. Some would give full and elaborate accounts of ceremonial which close investigation showed to be, so far as one could tell, thoroughly accurate. Others gave careless and slovenly accounts, full of omissions and inaccuracies of detail, though they rarely said anything which was distinctly untrue.

After some experience had been gained, one day's work was usually sufficient to enable me to make up my mind whether a man was a careful witness, and if he did not seem to be so, he was not again called upon for help. Different men were known to have especial acquaintance with certain branches of knowledge, and I always endeavoured to obtain such people. In the case of the religious ritual, it was not practicable to make use, to any great extent, of men actually holding any of the sacred offices, but I always had recourse to people who had held these offices and were personally familiar with the ceremonial.

Among the many aspects of social life and religion, I soon found that there were some about which there was no reticence, and these could be discussed in public with men, women, or children standing by and perhaps taking part. There were others which were of a more sacred nature, and, if they were approached in public, it was immediately obvious

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114 generations, was able to work out the laws which had regulated these marriages and to study in detail the system of kinship.

124 On going to the Todas, one of my first objects was to discover if their pedigrees were preserved with the same completeness and fidelity as among the Papuans of Torres Straits.

173 601 It seemed at first as if I was to be disappointed. Those to whom I first broached the subject professed not to know the names of their own fathers and mothers. Some said they had forgotten them, but their demeanour excited the suspicion that reticence, and not ignorance, was the cause of the failure, and it soon became clear that this suspicion was correct.

551 784 There was a taboo on the names of the dead, and especially on those of dead ancestors. No Toda liked to speak of the dead by name, but to utter the name of a dead elder relative was strictly forbidden, and to the end of my visit I never heard the name of a dead man from one of his descendants. Thus the last piece of genealogical information which I collected was that of the names of the father and mother of Kòdrner, my constant attendant. The fact that he was always with me had prevented my inquiries into his parentage.

Having discovered the cause of failure it soon became evident that the Todas preserved their pedigrees almost, if not quite, as fully as the natives of Torres Straits. As in the islands, certain men had especial reputations as repositories of genealogical lore, and I began my investigations with the aid of one of the most famous of these, Parkurs (8), an old man almost blind as the result of cataract and so feeble that he had to be carried when he came to see me. With his aid and that of many others I compiled the records given in Appendix V.

Throughout my visit, the collection of this genealogical material was regarded as something which should not be done. I never carried on this branch of my work during what I may call my public hours when I was visited by anyone who chose to come. At these times I sometimes obtained from a man the names of his wife and children, but always left any further inquiries till the time reserved for my investigations

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into more esoteric matters, when only one man was alone with me and was not subject to the restraints imposed by auditors who might disapprove of the utterance of the names of the dead.

One result of the taboo on the names of dead ancestors was that the record of a man's family was never obtained from one of that family; but this was no disadvantage, for the genealogical knowledge of those from whom I obtained my data was so wide that it covered the families of the whole or nearly the whole of the Toda community. I have no doubt that I could have obtained the whole of the material given in the tables from two men, one of whom would have given me the genealogies of the Tartharol, and the other those of the Teivaliol, and if I had chosen my informants wisely, I believe that their information would have been as full and accurate as that obtained from my many sources of information. Further, I found that the Teivaliol had a wide knowledge of Tarthar genealogies, and *vice versâ*, though a man of one division usually refused to guarantee the accuracy of anything he told me about the other division, and would often disclaim knowledge which some chance observation later showed that he possessed, at any rate in some measure.

Although certain Todas had special reputations for their knowledge of pedigrees and were undoubtedly more proficient in this respect than the general mass of the community, I believe that the knowledge was very widely spread throughout the people. My guide Kòdrner never professed to any special knowledge of genealogies, and yet chance observations would often show that his acquaintance with the pedigrees of the community was far more extensive and accurate than his professions would have led one to expect.

The results of the inquiry are given in Tables 1–72.[1] This large accumulation of genealogical material was obtained from people who professed at first not to know the names of their own fathers and mothers. It would have been quite easy for me to have come away from the Todas and reported them as a people who did not preserve their genealogies.

The pedigrees are recorded in exactly the same manner as those which I have published in the *Reports of the Torres*

[1] [pp. 749-788]

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128 *Straits Expedition*, with the modifications rendered necessary
601 by the presence of polyandry and infant marriage among the Todas. In any one table the descendants in the male line only are given, descendants in the female line being recorded in the genealogies of the husbands. Thus, if one wishes to ascertain the descendants of Pilivurch in Table 1, it is necessary to turn to Table 20 recording the genealogy of Teithi, the husband of this woman. The names of males are in capital letters, those of females in ordinary type, and the name of a wife always follows the name of her husband or husbands. Under the name of each individual is placed, in italics, the name of the clan to which the individual belongs, or, in the case of a married woman, of the clan to which she had belonged before marriage. The names of those now living are given in Clarendon type, of which Mudrigeidi and Savdur in Table 1 are examples. The abbreviation i.m. stands for "infant marriage." The abbreviations d.y. and d.n.n. stand for "died young" and "died before being named" respectively. The latter implies that the child died within a few weeks of birth.

When the names of men are enclosed in square brackets, polyandry, and when the names of women are so enclosed, polygyny, is indicated.

006 In the *Torres Straits Reports* I have shown that there are definite reasons why the people should have preserved their pedigrees so fully. The pedigrees are not preserved for amusement nor out of idle interest in the doings of ancestors or neighbours. In Torres Straits the complex and far-reaching nature of the marriage regulations form the chief motive for the preservation of the pedigrees, while the transmission of property is perhaps of almost equal importance.

182 Among the Todas we shall see that the marriage regulations
423 are far simpler than among the Papuans of Torres Straits, and in their case the chief motive is probably connected with the inheritance of buffaloes, the only form of property in which the Toda takes much interest. In the succeeding chapters we shall find several examples of social transactions in which the knowledge derived from the genealogical record has determined the issue.

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The Value of the Genealogical Record

In the succeeding chapters I shall show the value of the genealogies in working out the nature of the system of kinship and in providing statistical material for the study of the marriage regulations. The greater part of my work on the social aspect of the life of the Todas is based on material derived from the genealogies; or perhaps I should rather say that most of the information I give has been checked, if not entirely obtained, by means of the genealogies.

I wish, however, to draw attention here to a far wider use of the genealogies in anthropological investigation. They bring a concrete element into anthropological work which greatly facilitates inquiry. The lower one goes in the social or intellectual scale in mankind, the greater difficulty is there in dealing with abstractions. The savage mind is almost wholly occupied with the concrete. Discuss his laws of inheritance with him, and you probably soon become hopelessly entangled in misunderstanding. Take a number of concrete cases, and his memory will enable him to heap instance upon instance showing how property was inherited in given cases. Similarly, in ceremonies, ask the savage to give an account of a given ceremony, and he probably omits many essential points, not because he forgets them, but because they are so familiar to him that he thinks you, like himself, take them for granted. Ask him to tell you exactly what A and B did when they performed a given ceremony, and he forms a mental picture of A and B going through the ceremony, and tells you exactly what they did and how they did it. When another individual comes into the ceremony, he too comes in as a concrete personage, and his sayings and doings are faithfully recorded.

The Todas are so intelligent that the genealogies were not so essential an instrument of investigation as was the case in Torres Straits, but they were nevertheless of enormous value in giving concreteness to the accounts of the Toda ceremonies. The Todas certainly gave fuller and more faithful accounts of their ceremonies when they described actual events, but such descriptions would have been of little value to me if I had

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124 not had my pedigrees as a guide. An account of a Toda
173 funeral, for instance, with its many *dramatis personæ* would
601 probably have baffled my powers of comprehension if I had not had my book of genealogies for reference.

I always worked with this book by my side whenever I was investigating any ceremonial in which the social side of life was concerned. I asked for a description of some ceremony recently performed of which the memories were fresh. The chief actors in the ceremony were always mentioned by name; and whenever a name occurred, I looked up the clan and family of the person in question and noticed his relationship to other persons who had taken part in the ceremony. The actors in the ceremony were thus real people to me as well as to my informants, and the account of the ceremony proceeded with the maximum of interest and the minimum of fatigue both to myself and to my informants.

The method had the further advantage that it afforded me the means of checking the accounts which I was given. An informant inclined to be careless soon found that I had the means of checking his narrative on many points; and some of the people, not knowing the source of my information, credited me with more knowledge than I really possessed, and were in consequence extremely careful not to wander from the truth, or perhaps I should rather say, not to tell me anything of which they were not absolutely certain. I have already stated my belief that the Todas are very truthful and that they err far more often from carelessness than intention, but the fact that I had a fund of knowledge of which the source was somewhat mysterious probably saved me from having much of my time wasted by careless or inaccurate information.

123 I think that my familiarity with the names and circum-
124 stances of the people helped me to acquire their confidence. Among the more simple people of Torres Straits, I used sometimes to let a man know, much to his astonishment, that I was acquainted with some of the affairs of his family. Among the more reticent Todas, it seemed to me unwise to do this, but, on meeting for the first time a man with whom I was already acquainted through the genealogies, I often referred to something I knew he had done, perhaps to the skilful

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way he had caught the buffalo at such and such a funeral, and the fact that I knew something of him and his doings often helped to put us at once on friendly terms, and at the same time put him on his mettle to give me the best of the knowledge at his command.

The Trustworthiness of the Genealogies

Before using the genealogical record as a means of studying the details of the social organisation, it may be well to consider what guarantee we have that the genealogies form a truthful record of the past. In Torres Straits, where I gained my first experience in these matters, I was so incredulous of the accuracy of the record that I obtained almost every particle of information from two or three different and independent sources, and it was only when I had finished that I found the whole mass of material to furnish a record so consistent in itself that it could hardly have been other than veracious.

Further, on investigating kinship and the regulation of marriage, both on the basis of the genealogical record, it was found that the results of one investigation closely corroborated the results of the other, and that the combined investigations gave so consistent and coherent a result that it was incredible that the genealogies on which the investigations were based should have been other than faithful and accurate records.

The Toda community is considerably larger than either of those with which I worked in the islands of Torres Straits, and when I found that the memories of the people extended back as far or nearly as far as in those islands, it became obvious that I was confronted with a task of considerable magnitude, and the question arose whether it was necessary to obtain separate accounts of every family from independent witnesses, as I had done previously, or whether I might not rely on the account of a family given by one witness and only seek corroboration occasionally. I began by following the same procedure as in Torres Straits, but soon found that the accounts obtained independently showed a close

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124 agreement, and I therefore contented myself in my later
128 work with one account, though every now and again I went
173 over a piece of a pedigree with a second witness. When
601 I had finished, the consistency of all the parts of the record with one another seemed to afford conclusive evidence that I had obtained what is, on the whole, a veracious record.

Of course, in so large a mass of material there are mistakes.[1] In one family no doubt a child has been omitted, especially when it died young and had no posterity to make its name important; in another case perhaps a child has been added to a family who was really the offspring of another mother. That there are such mistakes is certain, but they are probably few in number, and I have no doubt that, with one exception to be presently considered, such mistakes as have crept in do not appreciably impair the value of the genealogies as a record of the working of social regulations.

128 There is one deficiency of the record, however, of the
173 existence of which I have little doubt—a deficiency entirely
601 due to my own carelessness. To me the chief interest of the genealogies is that they are a record of the past—a record of the working of social regulations which at the present time may be already affected by the new influences coming into the lives of primitive people all over the world. In my absorption in the records of the past, I have often neglected the present and have omitted to ascertain carefully the children of families at present in process of growth. In several cases I have failed to obtain the names of children of people now living, and I have very little doubt that I have in several or many cases omitted the names of other children of growing families. I had one excuse for this in the fact already mentioned, that I had to obtain my information about a given family from people of some other family. A man would often know all about the members of the given family in the past, but, living perhaps at some distance from the family in question, he was often hazy as to the exact number and names of the children recently born, and it is the record of

[1] For a few cases in which an individual is entered as the child of a man who is known not to be his real father, see p. 534. In such a case I have assigned the child to the parent who is regarded as the legal father by the Todas.

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children under five years of age which I know to be deficient.

If the number of the Todas now living and recorded in the genealogies be counted, it will be found that there are 736 individuals, 419 males and 317 females. In the census of 1901 the total population is given as 805, 451 males and 354 females. My record falls short of that of the census by 69 individuals, 32 males and 37 females.

Further, when I arrange the people now living according to age, it is found that there is a distinct deficiency in children under five years of age. Thus, my records of age come out as follows :—

	Males.	Females.
Above 65 years.	9	3
61—65 ,,	4	7
56—60 ,,	19	9
51—55 ,,	20	17
46—50 ,,	26	21
41—45 ,,	26	18
36—40 ,,	26	27
31—35 ,,	40	25
26—30 ,,	40	33
21—25 ,,	38	28
16—20 ,,	32	31
11—15 ,,	41	20
6—10 ,,	54	33
5 and under	44	45
Total	419	317

The ages upon which this table is based could only be obtained very roughly, and the figures must be taken merely as rough approximations to the truth. The irregularities of the table may be due partly to this defect, but it is very improbable that there are about the same number of children of five and under as of children between six and ten, and we may be fairly confident that but for omissions the numbers of the youngest group, especially of boys, would have been larger.

I have reason to believe, further, that I have not omitted any appreciable number of adults or children over five years of age. I tested 320 males and 183 females for colour-

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125 blindness, and as I was anxious to test every member of the
128 community who was old enough, I obtained towards the end of my visit the names of all those who had not been tested. I only attempted to test children when over five years of age, and I have therefore an independent record of the living Todas above this age, so that it is fairly certain that the greater part of the deficiency in the genealogical record is of children about or below the age of five, though it is possible that I may also have missed a certain number of women.

128 This deficiency does not in the slightest degree affect the
173 value of the pedigrees as a record of marriages or of the working of social regulations, but it does impair the value of
601 the statistics concerning the average size of a family and other matters of biological interest, though only for the last generation.

On looking through my genealogical tables, it will be seen that different clans and families differ very greatly in the fulness of their record. In some cases I have pedigrees going back to the great-grandfathers of men now in middle life; in other cases I have only the names of the fathers of such men. The briefness of the record is especially marked in the case of the outlying clans, such as Kwòdrdoni, Pedrkars, and Päm, which I only visited for short periods. During these visits there was so much to be done that something had to suffer and the genealogies were usually the victims. If I had had more time, I have little doubt that I could have obtained much fuller records in many cases.

Buffalo Pedigrees

124 Marshall has stated that the Todas preserve the pedigrees
173 of their buffaloes in the female line, and when I had found how carefully the Todas preserved their own pedigrees my
234 next step was to endeavour to ascertain if the pedigrees of their buffaloes were preserved with the same amount of care and completeness. I returned to this subject again and again, but with very imperfect success. The Todas always treated my inquiries on this subject as if they were trifling and ridiculous. It is possible that this was one of the points on

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CHAPTER XXI

KINSHIP

THE system of kinship was studied chiefly by means of the genealogies. The Todas are sufficiently intelligent to be able to give satisfactory definitions of their terms expressing different kinds of relationship, but the genealogies were very useful in checking these definitions and in working out several points in detail.

The Toda system of kinship is of the kind known as classificatory with several interesting special features. Perhaps the most important of these is the use of the same terms for mother's brother and father-in-law on the one hand, and for father's sister and mother-in-law on the other hand. This is a natural consequence of the regulation which ordains that the proper marriage for a man is one with the daughter either of his mother's brother or father's sister.

Another important feature of the Toda system is the existence of two well-marked groups of terms expressing bonds of kinship; one used when speaking of relatives, and the other when speaking to relatives and in exclamations. The latter, which may be regarded as vocative cases of the former, are fewer in number and used in a much more general sense; and if the two are not distinguished, it is easy to understand that one may find only "inextricable confusion in Toda ideas as to relationship."[1] I will first give a list of kinship terms, together with the forms used in direct address, and the approximate definitions, and these will be followed by a

[1] See Marshall, p. 213.

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601 discussion of the exact meaning of each term. The vocative forms are enclosed in brackets.

Pevian, great-grandfather.
Peviav, great-grandmother.
Pian (*pia*), grandfather.
Piav (*piava*), grandmother.
In (*aia*), father.
Av (*ava*), mother.
Mokh (*ena*), son.
Kugh (*ena*), daughter.
Mokh pedvai mokh (*ena*), grandson.
Mokh pedvai kugh (*ena*), granddaughter.
An (*anna*), elder brother.
Egal (*egala*), brother of same age.
Nòdrved (*enda*), younger brother.
Akkan (*akka*), elder sister.
Nòdrvedkugh (*enda*), younger sister.
Mun (*mama*), mother's brother and wife's father.
Mumi (*mimia*), father's sister and wife's mother.
Manmokh (*ena*), sister's son.
Mankugh (*ena*), sister's daughter.
Matchuni, child of a mother's brother or father's sister.
Òl (*òl* or *òlia*), husband.
Kotvai or *tazmokh* (*tazmokh* or *tazmokhia*), wife.
Paiol, general name for male relatives of wife.
Motvilth (*ena*), son's wife.

A general name for those of the same clan is *annatam*, but I am not sure that this is not properly a borrowed word.

In giving a more detailed account of these terms of kinship, it will perhaps be convenient to begin with the relationship of *in*, or father.

In. A person speaks of his father as "*en in*," "my father," while "his father" would be "*tan in*." An *in* is addressed as *aia*. These names are applied not only to the father, but also to the father's brothers, whether they are husbands of the mother or not.

The names *in* or *aia* are also given to all the males of the clan (*madol*) who are of the same generation as the father;

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also to the husbands of the sisters of the mother, sisters here including both own sisters and clan-sisters, *i.e.*, to the husbands of all those who are of the same clan and generation as the mother. Elder brothers of the father (either own brothers or clan-brothers) are often addressed as *perudaia*, while younger brothers are called *karudàia*, and in speaking of such men the expressions "*en in perud*" and "*en in karud*" would be used. When a man speaks of one of his more remote fathers, and it may be doubtful of whom he is speaking, he may add the name of the man; thus Siriar (20) would speak of Paniolv (26), the husband of his mother's sister, as "*Pani in.*"

Av. A mother is spoken of as *en av* or *tan av*, and addressed as *ava*. These names are also applied to the wife of a father other than the actual mother, to the sisters of the mother, to the wives of the father's brothers, and to the sisters of the wife's father. Every woman of the same clan and generation as the mother is an *av*. In general the wife of an *in* is an *av*. As in the case of the *in*, a distinction is made between the elder and younger sisters of the mother, the former being addressed as *perudava* and the latter *karudava*. Similarly the wife of an elder brother of the father is *perudava* and of a younger *karudava*. Such relatives may be spoken of as "*en av perud*" and "*en av karud.*"

Mokh and *Kugh*. Every one whom a man calls *in* or *av* calls the man *mokh*, and every one to whom a woman gives these names calls the woman *kugh*. In direct address, both *mokh* and *kugh* are called *ena* (? *enna*).

In speaking of his brother's children, a man may make clear whether he is speaking of the child of an elder or younger brother; thus he may say "*en nòdrvedvain mokh*," "my younger brother's son." *Mokh* is often used as a general term for "child" and may be applied to persons of either sex.

Pian. This name is given to both paternal and maternal grandfathers and to their brothers, certainly in the narrow sense and probably in the wider. Every male of the speaker's clan of the same generation as the father's father would certainly be called "*en pian.*" The brother of the father's mother is also called *pian*, but I am doubtful whether the term is used for all the clan-brothers of the father's mother

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601 Similarly I am uncertain how far the clan-brothers of the mother's father and mother's mother receive this name. A *pian* is addressed as *pia.*

Piav. This is the name of both paternal and maternal grandmothers, and in general the wife of a *pian* is a *piav.* A *piav* is addressed as *piava.*

All those addressed as *pian* or *piav* will address the speaker as *ena.* When speaking of his grandson, a man will say "*en mokh pedvai*" or "*en mokh pedvai mokh*," literally "my born to my son" or "my son born to my son," and there were no less elaborate terms.

The son of a daughter is called *en kugh pedvai mokh*, "my daughter who born to son," taking the words in order, or "my son born to my daughter." A daughter of a son is called *en mokh pedvai kugh*, and the daughter of a daughter, *en kugh pedvai kugh.* Since, however, *mokh* is often used as a general name for "child," I believe that this word usually takes the place of *kugh*, and that in consequence a grandchild of either sex is called *en mokh pedvai mokh.*

Pevian and *peviav.* These words for great-grandfather and great-grandmother have a similar wide connotation. The word *pef* is an ancient term for "great" which is used in some of the magical incantations (see p. 267).

An. This is the name for elder brother and for all members of the clan of a man or woman who are of the same generation as, and older than, the man or woman. An *an* is addressed as *anna.*

Nòdrved. This is the name for younger brother and for all members of the clan of the same generation as, and younger than, the speaker. *En nòdrved* or *nòdrped* means literally "my born with." A *nòdrved* is addressed as *enda.*

Egal. A corresponding relative who is of the same age is called *en egal* and is addressed as *egala.*

These terms are used both by men and women of and to men.

Akkan. This term is applied by both men and women to an elder sister, and is also given to all female members of the same clan who are of the same generation as, and older than, the speaker. An *akkan* is addressed as *akka.*

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Nòdrvedkugh. A younger sister is spoken of by this name, which is also given to all the female members of the same clan and generation, but younger than the speaker. Such a relative is addressed by the same term as is applied to a younger brother, viz., *enda.* Two sisters of the same age are *egal* and *egala* to one another.

These terms for "brother" and "sister" are also applied to one another by the children of two sisters. Thus a man would call the son of his mother's sister *an*, and address him as *anna* if the latter were older than himself, and would be spoken of by the latter as *en nòdrved* and addressed as *enda.* If of the same age they would be *egal* or *egala* to one another. Similarly a man addresses the daughter of his mother's sister as *akka* or *enda* according to age. I am doubtful how widely the terms for brotherhood and sisterhood are applied in this case. I do not know whether the children of two women of the same generation in a large clan like that of Kars would call one another brother and sister.

Thus the children of two brothers are brothers and sisters, and the children of two sisters are also brothers and sisters, while, as we shall see shortly, the children of brother and sister receive another name. The children of two sisters belong to different clans except in those cases in which the sisters have married men of the same clan. Thus a man may have brothers and sisters in several different clans.

Mun. This is the name of the mother's brother, of the father's sister's husband, and of the wife's father. The last is also spoken of as *paiol* together with other relatives of the wife. In the case of the orthodox Toda marriage, in which a man marries the daughter of his mother's brother, or of his father's sister, the *mun* is at the same time both wife's father and either mother's brother or father's sister's husband, but the wife's father is still called *mun* even when a man marries a woman to whom he is unrelated.

The term *mun* is not only applied by a man to the own brothers of his mother, but also to her clan-brothers. When a man has many *mun*, he may show to which he is

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601 referring by mentioning his name; thus Siriar (20) would say "*Karsüln mun*" if he referred to this relative, the husband of his father's sister, and he might speak in the same way of a clan-brother of his mother.

A distinction is often made between older and younger *mun*; thus, if a man's mother had two brothers, the elder would be called *en mun perud* and the younger *en mun karud*. A *mun* is addressed as *mama*.

Mumi. This is the name of the father's sister, of the wife of a mother's brother, and of the wife's mother, the terms brother and sister being again used in a wide sense. In general, the wife of a *mun* is a *mumi*. A *mumi* is addressed as *mimia*.

Manmokh. A person would apply the term *manmokh* to his sister's son and his wife's brother's son. It is a term reciprocal to *mun* in so far as this term is one for mother's brother and father's sister's husband. I am not quite certain whether it would be used for a son-in-law who was not also a sister's son, but I am almost certain that this would be done.

The term is also applied to the sons of clan-sisters, and when used in this more distant way a distinction is sometimes made. *En manmokh* would mean "my (own) sister's son," *Em manmokh*, literally "our sister's son," would be used for children of a more distant sister.

Mankugh is used in exactly the same way as *manmokh* for sister's daughter, &c.

Matchuni. This is the term applied to one another by the children, both male and female, of brother and sister. While the children of two brothers are brothers or sisters (*an, egal, akka* or *nòdrved*) and the children of two sisters are also brothers and sisters, the children of a brother and sister are *matchuni*. In other words, the children of an individual's mother's brother or of his father's sister are the *matchuni* of the individual.

When a man addresses his male *matchuni* he calls him *anna, egala* or *enda*, according to their relative ages. Similarly when a woman addresses her female *matchuni*, she calls her *akka, egala* or *enda*, according to age.

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When a man addresses his female *matchuni*, he calls her either *tazmokhia* or *kughia* (see below). He gives her the former name because he is allowed to marry her; she is a woman who might normally be his wife and he therefore addresses her as wife. 601

Similarly a woman addresses her male *matchuni* as *òlia*; she calls him husband because he may become her husband.

As in the case of other relationships, a man may define more exactly of whom he is speaking when he refers to a *matchuni*, and may say instead *en munkugh*, the daughter of my *mun*. Two kinship terms are thus used which resemble one another closely, but have very different meanings:—*en munkugh*, my uncle's daughter, and *en mankugh*, my sister's daughter.

Òl, husband. A woman speaks of her husband as *en òl* and addresses him as *òlia*.

Kotvai and *tazmokh*, wife. A man speaks of his wife as *en kotvai*, and addresses her as *tazmokhia*.

Paiol. This is a general term for the male relatives of the wife. It is applied especially to the wife's father, the wife's brothers, and the brothers of the wife's father.

It seemed that this term should only properly be applied to the near relatives of the wife. Those whom the wife would address as *aïa*, *anna*, or *enda*, because members of her clan, need not be called *paiol* by the husband.

Paiol is a reciprocal term, and it is therefore applied by a man to the daughter's husband, the sister's husband, and to the husband of the brother's daughter.

A *paiol* is addressed as *anna*, *egala*, or *enda*, according to age.

Motvilth. This term is the equivalent of daughter-in-law and is applied by a man to his son's wife. A woman is also the *motvilth* of the brothers of her husband's father. A *motvilth* is addressed as *ena*.

There did not seem to be any brief term for the sister of a wife, and a man would speak of her as *en kotvai akkan* if older, or as *en kotvai nòdrved* if younger than the wife.

Sometimes the Todas add to some of the kinship names

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601 the word *potch*, which is said to have the meanings "begetting" or "begotten." I met with this especially in the lamentations used at funerals. A man would say, "*en potch aia*"—"O my father which begot me"; "*en potch anna*"—"O my elder brother begotten with me." For a younger brother, however, this word would not be used; a man would not say, "*en potch nòdrved ia*," because *ved* has the same significance as *potch*, *nòdrved* meaning also "born with" or "begotten with."

Every male of a man's own clan is either his *pian*; his *in*; his *an*, *egal*, or *nòdrved*; his *mokh*, or his *mokh pedvai mokh*. In most cases a clan consists of several families, and these families may be unrelated to one another so far as the evidence from the genealogical record goes. Nevertheless, every Toda knows exactly the proper kinship terms to apply to all the members of his clan. I inquired in detail into the basis of this knowledge in the case of the Taradrol, consisting of six *pòlm* or divisions. All the members of each *pòlm* trace their descent from a man whose name is known, and the pedigrees of the six *pòlm* are given in the genealogical tables 20 to 25.

It was known that three of these *pòlm* were closely related to one another, and that the other three were also closely related. The following table expresses the relationship in the first case:—

It was not perfectly certain whether Teithi and the two men whose names were not remembered were own brothers, but it was known that they were closely related and of the same generation. They were certainly clan-brothers and possibly own brothers. The kinship names applied by members of the three *pòlm* to one another were all in accordance with this scheme; thus, there was no one living in these three *pòlm* whom Siriar (20) called *aia*; he would have given this name to Nasidz or Peratuthi if they had been

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alive. He calls Arthothi and Parkeidi *anna*; they are the sons of Peratuthi, who was of the same generation as Siriar's father. The following are called *mokh* or *ena*:—Püldenir, Keinodz, Idrshkwòdr (21), Polgar, Pundu, Keinmuv, and Pushtikudr (22), although at least one of these men is older than Siriar, and several others are approximately of the same age. Similarly, Muners (21) is the *mokh pedvai mokh*, or grandson of Siriar.

The other three *pòlm* of the Taradr clan are known to be related in a similar way: Kiusthvan (23), Pachievan (24), and Pungut (25) being either own brothers or men closely related and of the same generation. I was thus able to ascertain definitely how each member of the first three *pòlm* knew the appropriate name to be given to members of these families, and similarly how members of the other three *pòlm* knew the exact terms of kinship to apply to one another.

Each member of the first three *pòlm* also knew, however, the proper kinship terms to apply to members of the other three *pòlm*, although I could not obtain, and there seemed to be no record of, the way in which the two groups of families were connected. Thus Siriar addresses as *aia* Paners and his brothers (23) and Irkiolv (24). He addresses as *anna*: Teitukben, Idjkudr and Kandu (23), Tòleidi, Nertiners, Mogai, Teimad and Orguln (24), and Kudeners and his brother (25). The children of these men are the *mokh* of Siriar, and are addressed by him as *ena*.

The explanation seems to be that the mode of relationship is handed down from generation to generation; thus Teithi, the grandfather of Siriar, called Kiusthvan (23) brother, and in consequence Ircheidi and Paners, their sons, also call one another brother, and so Siriar, the son of Ircheidi, knows that he has to call Paners father. In this way a man would know the correct term to apply to every member of his clan, though the links by which their pedigrees are connected may have been completely forgotten.

I also worked out the relationship of the different divisions of the Kuudr clan in the same way, and may perhaps give the record briefly.

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601 Teitnir (52) calls the following Kuudr men *aia*:—Mutevan (52), Punatvan (53), Keitas (55), Tüliners (56), Kiugi (57), Tütners, Etamudri, Madsu, and Koboners (58), Ishkievan (60).

He calls the following *anna*:—Kuriolv and Ivievan (52), Targners (53), Keinkursi (54), and Mudriners (57). The following are his *nòdrved*, and are called by him *enda*:—Kwelthipush and his brothers, Piliar and Piliag (52), Pungusivan, Tevò, Karov and Pòl (53), Pöteners (54), Sinar and Katsog (55), Erai, Kil, Kanokh (56), Onadj and Kwòdrthotz (57), Kishkar and Tormungudr (59). All the sons of these brothers are the *mokh* of Teitnir.

In the above list Teitnir omitted Tikievan and Tushtkudr (56), who according to the genealogies are his *pia* or grandfathers, while their sons, though much younger than Teitnir, are his fathers, and are addressed by him as *aia*.

The other kinship terms are used in the same wide way. If a man's mother belonged to Kuudr all those Kuudr men would be his *mun* who were the *au*, *egal*, or *nòdrved* of his mother; and all the children of those men would be his *matchuni*.

The terms used for the relatives of a wife are also used for the corresponding relatives of a *sedvaitazmokh*. This is the name of the woman in the Toda institution according to which a woman consorts with one or more men in addition to her husband or husbands (see p. 526). The man, or *mokhthodvaiol*, calls the fathers and brothers of the woman *paiol*, and calls her father *mun* and her mother *mumi*.

Relatives are often spoken of by the Todas in a way that defines their relation to the speaker more exactly than is usual in the classificatory system. Thus, a man may call his brother's son "*en nodrvedvain mokh*"—"my younger brother's son"; or he may speak of his wife's elder sister as "*en kotvai akka*," an abbreviation of *en kotvai tan akka* —"my wife her elder sister." Similarly, a wife's younger sister may be called "*en kotvai nòdrved*."

It seemed to me that the Todas afford an interesting example of a people who are beginning to modify the classificatory system of kinship in a direction which distinctly approaches the descriptive system. The essential features

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of the system of kinship are those known as classificatory, but the Todas have various means of distinguishing between the near and distant relatives to whom the same kinship term is applied. Two examples of this have already been given; the son of an own sister may be called "my sister's son," while the son of a clan sister is called "our sister's son," and the own brother of a mother is simply called *mun*, while in the case of a clan brother of the mother, the name of the man is added. Further, a term which is definitely descriptive may be used in the examples quoted above.

The Todas have reached a stage of mental development in which it seems that they are no longer satisfied with the nomenclature of a purely classificatory system, and have begun to make distinctions in their terminology for near and distant relatives.

Another point of interest about the Toda system is that the two sets of kinship terms—those used in direct address and those used when speaking of a relative—do not correspond closely with one another.

The terms used in direct address are few in number compared with the kinship terms used when speaking of a relative. Brothers of all kinds, *matchuni* and some *paiol* (brothers-in-law) are all addressed as *anna*, *egala* or *enda*, according to age. Children, grandchildren, sisters' sons and sons-in-law are all addressed as *ena*. If exclusive attention were paid to the kinship terms used in address we should seem to have a kinship system which is almost wholly based on relative ages and generations, all other distinctions being ignored.

The Toda system distinguishes widely between elder and younger members of the family and clan. This feature, which is of very general occurrence in connexion with the classificatory system, has been highly developed by the Todas, and their system differs from any other with which I am acquainted in having a special term for relatives of the same age.

When two members of a clan or two men related in other ways address one another as brother, the terms employed depend altogether on their relative ages, and are not influenced by the relative seniority of the branches of the family or clan to which they belong.

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601 The Toda system appears to be closely related to that
171 of the Dravidians of Southern India. In several cases the names for certain kin are identical with or closely resemble those of other South Indian languages.

The three most characteristic features of the Toda system are (i.) the use of the same term for mother's brother and father-in-law, &c.; (ii.) the marked development of vocative forms of the kinship terms; (iii.) the marked development of distinctions according to age. These three features are also found in Tamil, and as far as my information goes in Telugu and Canarese. The Toda system appears to be a simplified form of the Tamil system with many points of identity. The resemblance between the Toda and the Tamil names seems certainly to be closer than that between the Toda names and those of the Telugus and Canarese.

I do not wish here to consider these resemblances and differences in any detail, but in the Table on the opposite page I have given a list of those kinship terms in which the Todas resemble other inhabitants of Southern India. The Tamil terms I owe to Mr. K. Rangachari of Madras; the others I have taken from Morgan's *System of Consanguinity and Affinity of the Human Race.*

Kinship Taboos

601 A man never mentions the name of his *mun.* If he wishes
551 to make clear of whom he is speaking he will give the name
784 of the place at which his *mun* lives, as "*Tedshteiri ithvai en mun podchi*," "My uncle who lives at Tedshteiri." This restriction only applies to the own brothers of his mother. Other more distant *mun* may be spoken of by name, and as we have already seen, if a man wishes to make it clear of whom he is speaking, he mentions the name in addition to the kinship term.

A man is also prohibited from uttering the name of the man from whom he has received his wife—*i.e.*, to whom he has done *kalmelpudithti* (see p. 502). This man, who is called the *mokhudrtvaiol*, is usually the father of the wife and would normally be also a *mun*, but sometimes the place of the

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mokhudrtvaiol is usurped by somebody else and in such a case there might be no restriction on the name of the wife's real father. In the only case of this kind of which I have a record, the marriage of Siriar (20) and Pupidz, the place of *mokhudrtvaiol* was taken by Kuriolv, who was living with Pilimurg (7), the girl's mother, and though he was no real

	Toda.	Tamil.	Telegu.	Canarese.
Son.....	mokh	maghan		
Elder brother ...	an (anna)	aṇṇan (aṇṇa)	anna	anna
Elder sister	akkan (akka)	akkal (akka)	akka	akka
Mother's brother.	mun (mâmâ)	amman or maman (mama)	mena mama	mava
Father-in-law ...	mun (mama)	mamaner (mama)	mama	mava
Father's sister ...	mumi (mimia)	attai		
Wife of mother's brother	mumi (mimia)	ammami		
Wife's mother ...	mumi (mimia)	mamiyar (ammami)		
Sister's son	manmokh	maruman or marumakan		
Mother's brother's son	matchuni	maittunan (?)		
Father's sister's son	matchuni	attan or maittunan		
Wife's brother ...	matchuni or paiol	machchinan or maittunan		

relative of the wife, Siriar might not mention his name. In spite of the fact, however, that Kuriolv had become his *mokhudrtvaiol*, Siriar went privately to Patirsh (35), the real father of his wife, and did *kalmelpudithi* and would also refrain from saying the name of this man.

A man is prohibited from saying the name of his wife's mother (*mumi*), but my notes do not make clear whether he is also prohibited from saying the names of other *mumi*—*i.e.*,

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601 father's sisters, but probably this is so. In any case this
551 restriction only applies to near relatives.

A man may not utter the name of his *pian* or *piav.*

784 There seemed to be some reluctance to say the name of a wife, but there did not appear to be any definite prohibition against it. It was probably part of a reluctance to utter personal names in general of which the Todas show some traces, though it is less marked among them than in the case of many uncultured people.

The taboo on names was far wider in the case of dead relatives. No one was allowed to utter the name of a dead relative, and this rule appeared to be especially stringent in the case of relatives who had been older than the speaker. As I have already mentioned, this taboo was for some time a great obstacle in my way when trying to obtain the pedigrees of the people. If a man had to refer to a dead relative, he did so by mentioning the name of the village at which he had died; thus, if the father of a Taradr man had died at Taradr, the man would say, "*en in Taradr pon*," while, if he had died away from home, say at Kuudr, he would refer to his father as "*en in Kuudr odthavai*," "my father who died at Kuudr."

[765] In the funeral lamentations, each mourner mentions the deceased by the name indicating the bond of kinship between himself and the dead, and does not utter the personal name.

KINSHIP SALUTATIONS

601 There are certain well-defined salutations which are regulated by kinship.

602 The characteristic Toda salutation is called *kalmelpudithti*,
576 in which salutation one person kneels or bows down before another, while the latter raises each foot and touches the forehead of the other. In general this salutation is only paid by women to their elder male relatives; a woman places her head beneath the foot of her *pian*, *in*, *an*, or *mun*, using these terms in their widest sense. The salutation seems to be very largely one connected with kinship. In everyday life the salutation is only paid by women to men, but under special circumstances, men may bow down before men, and women

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before women, and men even may bow down before women (see p. 502). 601

Since, owing to the *mokhthodvaiol* connexion, a Tarthar woman may have a Teivali *mun* and *vice versa*, the *kalmelpudithti* salutation takes place between people of the two divisions, and I have often seen a woman of one division placing her head beneath the foot of a man of the other division. 602 576

When a person meets one of his kin, he uses a form of greeting which depends on the nature of the relationship. Most of these greetings consist of some form of the word *iti* or *itvi*, which was said to mean "blessing" or "bless," together with the kinship term.

A man would greet an elder brother or anyone whom he would call *anna* by the word "*tioñ*," cut very short so as to sound like a single syllable. This is a corruption of *iti anna*. A person greets a younger brother or one whom he would call *enda* by uttering his name followed by the word *ers*, as in "*Sakari ers*," "*Pakkwar ers*." A father is greeted as *itiai*, a mother as *itiava*. An elder sister as *itiakka*; a younger sister as *itvena*, and this latter form is used for any female relative younger than the speaker. It is the duty of younger female relatives to perform the *kalmelpudithti* salutation, and as soon as a man says *itvena*, the woman at once bows down and places her head beneath the raised foot of the man, helping him to raise it at the same time.

A mother's brother or father-in-law (*mun*) is greeted by *itimoñ* and a *mumi* is greeted by *itimimia*, but so slurred as to be hardly recognisable. The grandfather and grandmother are greeted in the words *itin pia* and *itin piava*.

Whenever a new Toda came to join people who were with me, there would be a chorus of greetings, and the newcomer would look round carefully to see who was present, giving to each his proper salutation and obviously taking the greatest care that no one was overlooked. Since the relationship of brother is the most frequent, the greetings heard most often on these occasions were "*tioñ*" and ". . . . *ers*."

The regulation of salutation by kinship applies also to

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The regulation of salutation by kinship applies also to
764 the salutation of the dead. When the body first reaches
602 the funeral place it is saluted by all present, and in the
case of kin, the mode of salutation varies with the bond of
601 kinship. Those related to the deceased as *in*, *av*, *pian*, *piav*, *mun*, *mumi*, *an*, or *akkan*, bow down at the head of the corpse and touch the body with their foreheads, while all those whom the deceased would have called *enda* or *ena* bow down at the feet. The place saluted by those who are not kin is determined by age, but in the case of kin, the bond of kinship is more important than the age, so that the former condition determines the mode of salutation. Thus at the funeral of Kiuneimi (3), Kòdrner (7) saluted at the head of the dead woman. He was the younger, but was her *mun* owing to the fact that Kiuneimi's step-mother Kureimi, was a Kars woman whom Kòdrner called sister.

The Duties of Kin

602 The funeral ceremonies provide the greatest number of
764 examples of kinship duties, the parts taken by many of the mourners being determined largely by their bonds of kinship to the deceased. The place of chief mourner is taken by the brother or son of a dead man, by the husband of a dead woman, and by the father of a dead child, though, at the funeral of a girl, the husband plays the most important *rôle*.

Various duties fall to relatives of the same clan or of the same family of the clan. The earth-throwing at the funeral of a male, the smearing of butter on the buffalo, lighting the pyre at the first funeral and the two fires at the *azaramkedr*, and ringing the bell at the final scene, are all performed by near relatives of the same clan and family as the deceased.

Cutting off a lock of hair and mixing food are acts performed by the chief mourner, who is of the same clan as the deceased, whether brother, son, husband, or father.

The *manmokh*, or sister's son (who may be also son-in-law), has certain definite duties. Formerly, when many buffaloes were killed, one was always given by the sister's son, and he still gives a thread cord, called *pennar*. Many other relatives give these cords, but that given by the *manmokh* is especially

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he had impoverished himself by the bribes which he had given. Here again the people appear to have had no objection to the relations of the woman with the Mohammedan so long as she remained in the community. 582 621

Kinship and Marriage

The members of his own clan are not the only kin whom a man is not allowed to marry. The Todas have a general term, *püliol*, for those relatives whose intermarriage is prohibited. The term is applied by a man not only to the women whom he may not marry, but also to the families in general into which he may not marry; thus a man may speak of other men as his *püliol*, meaning by this that he may not marry their sisters. This, however, is only a loose way of using the word, and, putting on one side this sense in which the word may be used, the following are the *püliol* of a man:— 582 601 618

(i.) The daughters of his father's brothers, whom he would call *akka* or *enda*, according to age.

(ii.) The daughters of his mother's sisters, also *akka* or *enda*.

(iii.) The sisters of his father and conversely the daughters of his sisters, *i.e.*, his *muni* and his *mankugh*.

(iv.) The daughters of the sisters of his father's father, *i.e.*, of the sisters of his *pian*.

The relatives under the first head will be members of the same clan as the man, and the prohibition of marriage between *püliol* under this head may be regarded as a restriction dependent on either clanship or kinship.

There seemed to be no doubt, however, that in connexion with marriage, a man always thought of these relatives as *püliol*, a term which denotes certain kin, to whatever clan they may belong. So far as I could ascertain, if a man thought of a given woman, he thought of her as one, or not one, of his *püliol*, and it seemed to me in several cases as if it came almost as a new idea to some of the Todas that his *püliol* included all the people of his own clan.

If I am right in this, it means that it is the bond of blood-

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582 kinship which a Toda has chiefly in his mind when he considers whether he may or may not marry a given woman. He has not two kinds of prohibited affinity, one depending on clan relations, and another on relations of blood-kinship, but he has only one kind of prohibited affinity, to which he gives the general term *püliol*, including certain kin through the father and certain kin through the mother, and there is no evidence that he considers the bond of kinship in one case as different from the other as regards restriction on marriage.

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The fact that the Toda includes all those kin whom he may not marry under one general term, and that the kin in question include members both of his own and other clans, goes to show that the Todas recognise the blood-kinship as the restrictive agency rather than the bond produced by membership of the same clan.

The analysis of the genealogical record has shown that these restrictions on marriage are enforced. I have already stated that the genealogies show no single case in which marriage has occurred between members of the same clan. *i.e.*, between *püliol* who come under the first head in the list given above.

I have also failed to find a single case in which marriage has taken place between the children of two own sisters, or of marriage between the children of two women who would call each other "sister" whose names occur in the same genealogical table. Thus I have found no case in which a marriage has taken place between the children of two women so closely related to one another as Punzueleimi and Nasturs, of Table 3, these women being first cousins according to our system of kinship.

It would be a prolonged task to ascertain whether marriage ever takes place among the Tartharol between the children of two clan-sisters in the widest sense, and I do not know whether such marriage may not sometimes occur.

Among the Teivaliol marriages between clan-sisters even in the widest sense must be very rare owing to the fact that nearly all marriages take place between people of Kuudr on the one hand and members of the five other Teivali clans on the other. Since in most cases two women of any one

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of these five clans marry men of Kuudr, marriage between their children would be restricted under the first prohibition, and similarly the children of two Kuudr women could only intermarry in those cases in which members of the other five clans have married one another. Among the Teivaliol, I do not believe that marriages take place between the children of sisters in the widest sense, and I have little doubt that they are very exceptional among the Tartharol.

There is no case in the genealogies in which the third restriction has been broken, in which a man has married his father's sister or his sister's daughter, his *mumi* or his *mankugh*.

There is at least one case in the genealogies in which there has been an infringement of the fourth restriction given on page 509. The marriage of Nargudr (62) with Tolveli (58) is an example of the marriage of a man with the daughter of his grandfather's sister. I believe that this restriction is part of a wider regulation. Using Toda terms of kinship the law would run: a person must not marry the child of his *matchuni*. The marriage of a man with the daughter of his grandfather's sister, such as that of Nargudr with Tolveli, would be an infringement of this law. I have only found one other case in the genealogies in which this law would have been broken, *i.e.*, in the marriage of Teitnir (52) and Tersveli (63). Tersveli's father, Teikudr, is the son of Kavani, the sister of Pareivan, Teitnir's father. Teikudr is therefore the *matchuni* of Teitnir, who has married his daughter.

I was told that though a man might not marry the daughter of his sister, he might marry the children of this woman. I do not know of any such marriage and it is improbable that it would often come about, since it would involve the marriage of a woman with the brother of her grandfather. There is, however, at the present time an example of the marriage of a woman with her father's mother's brother, whom she would therefore call *pia*, or grandfather. This is the marriage of Kaners and his brother Kudrievan (63) with Edjog (56), the daughter of Tüliners, the son of the sister of the two men. I was told, however, that this marriage met with a good deal of disapproval among the Todas, but I could not learn that there was any definite prohibition against it.

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588 A few days later the two husbands and the *mokhthodvaiol* went to the woman's father and brothers (called collectively
616 *paiol*), and the *mokhthodvaiol* promised that he would give
837 the woman either a *keivali* (necklace) or a *sin* (gold earrings), each worth about thirty rupees. [A poorer man might only give a *pulthi* (bracelet), worth about twelve rupees]. He also promised that he would give a three-year-old buffalo to the son of the woman, this being called *mokh ir kwadrti*, *i.e.*, "son buffalo he gives." After making these promises, the *mokhthodvaiol* performed the salutation of *kalmelpudithti* to all the *paiol*, *i.e.*, he bowed down before each, and placed his head beneath their feet.

[601] As we have seen earlier, not only are the relatives of the *sedvaitazmokh* called *paiol*, the term in use for the relatives of a real wife, but the father of the woman is called *mun* and her mother *mumi*, names which are also terms of blood-relationship.

[764] When a man or woman dies, the *mokhthodvaiol* of the woman and the *sedvaitazmokh* of the man have definitely assigned duties at the funeral ceremonies. Each wears a ring on the ring finger of the left hand and has to put various things with the left hand into the pocket of the *putkuli* of the dead person.[1]

[114] The *mokhthoditi* institution was first described by Ward in 1821,[2] the man being called by Ward the *coombhal* (the *kumbliol*, cloak or blanket man). This is the Badaga name, and it has usually been adopted by those who have since referred to the institution.

[773] The custom is said to have originated with the god Kulinkars, who was the *mokhthodvaiol* of the goddess Nòtirzi, but I could obtain no details of the way in which the custom is supposed to have arisen.

588 The ceremonial connected with the process of becoming
837 a *mokhthodvaiol* is very much like that of the real marriage. A garment is given or promised and the salutation of *kalmelpudithti* is paid to the woman's relatives. The chief difference is that the gifts are more numerous

[1] For a full account see p. 366.

[2] Grigg's *Nilgiri Manual*, Appendix, p. lxxiv.

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02)1906 Toda

421 himself in order that he or his family may succeed to the
428 buffaloes of Kiugi's *pòlm* if this should die out. It is known,
however, that Kiugi's *pòlm* is closely related to that of
611 Tüliners (56), so that should the *pòlm* of Kiugi become
671 extinct, there would arise a lawsuit between Kuriolv and
183 Tüliners or their representatives for the possession of Kiugi's buffaloes.

The essential point of the situation is that Kuriolv is trying to make use of his double position as the descendant of Tudrvan by real paternity and of Kòrs by virtue of the *pursütpimi* ceremony. According to the latter he is of the same *pòlm* as Kiugi, but if equity prevails in the decision of the *naim* which may have to settle the dispute, Kuriolv or his representative will have to decide whether he is descended from Tudrvan or Kòrs, and will not be allowed to take advantage of both lines of descent.

As a matter of fact, I was assured by several Todas that though they have apparently fallen in with Kuriolv's wishes, they still regard Kiugi's *pòlm* as most closely allied to that of Tüliners, and if Kuriolv should die before the extinction of Kiugi's family, I have little doubt that the *naim* would decide that the buffaloes of Kiugi should go to the family of Tüliners.

● [601] This potential lawsuit is important as showing the *rôle* played by the genealogies in the social regulations of the Toda community. We see that an eventuality which may never arise and probably will not arise for many years to come is already the subject of consideration and discussion, that the crucial point upon which the lawsuit will turn is an event which occurred probably about 120 years ago, and that the ties of kinship which will be involved in the dispute are carefully preserved in the memories of the people.

157 The history is also very interesting in showing that a
184 century ago a man of force was able to set aside a fundamental regulation of Toda society, and that his grandson, who has apparently inherited the powerful character of his ancestor, is following in his footsteps, and, as we have seen frequently during this volume, is able to put on one side Toda customs or laws when they conflict with his interests or desires.

1.

[749]

2.

[750]

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

7.

[752]

W. H. R. Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

8.

PILION = Penguch
KARKNERS
KARNIRI = Ulvi
PELGUS = Tudgulvel (m) = Pudgurvel (f) = PIRIVAN
KUTKIDI = Angamur
PERRERS = [Thegulv (f) = Tarpidu (m')]
KERUTI = Kuhumpel (m) = PILIRI

[784]

10.

[753]

11.

12.

[756]

Toda (ca. 1901-02) 1906 E-5 1: Rivers 16.

16.

[767]

17.

18.

19.

20

21

22

NASIDE = Kodmuli (17)
Female Fem
[KERKADR FOLULVAN]
Male
Kabeyuli
Female
(See 1)
FULKEIDI = Isheveli
Female Kare
KIUNIAR
Female
[TERORIDI MORGUDRVAN]
Male
Ishtuli
Female
(See 13)
[MÖTHERI PODNERR]
Male
Ahr
Female
(See 17)
PULKAR = Ors (7) = IDJEN
Female Male Female
No ch. No ch.
KERKADR = Mokk
Male Female
(See 2)
PUKHTKUDR
PUNDU
Female
Ahkr (7)
Male
KEIRNUV
Female
l. m. l. m.

23

KIUSTHVAN = Sindeg (1)
Female Male
KARPUNELV = Tiguseini
Male Female
(See 31)
ÖNERIDI = Pekkr
Male Female
(See 4)
[TERORIDI MORGUDRVAN]
Male
Kabeiur
Female
(See 13)
PUION = PATULI = KORADRVAN = Tilgeini
Male Male Kilmond Female
(See 6) (See 10) (See 30)
[MONERS KERKVAN KORADRVAN]
Kilmond
Nyiseyuli
Female
(See 30)
PANERR = Pervuli (2) = Porkkr (12) = TOKAS
Female Male Male Female
PUNER
Female
[ÄTCHARAP KARNIAR]
Kilmond
Pennere
Female
(See 34)
TEITUKNEN = Nevvb (4)
Female Male
No ch.
IDJKUDR
KANDU = Ahkr (9)
Female Kilmond
l. m.
KIRSIN = Sinamani
Female Female
(See 28)
KISTRHAN = Linginiski
Male Female
(See 22)

[760]

24.

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

[761]

25.

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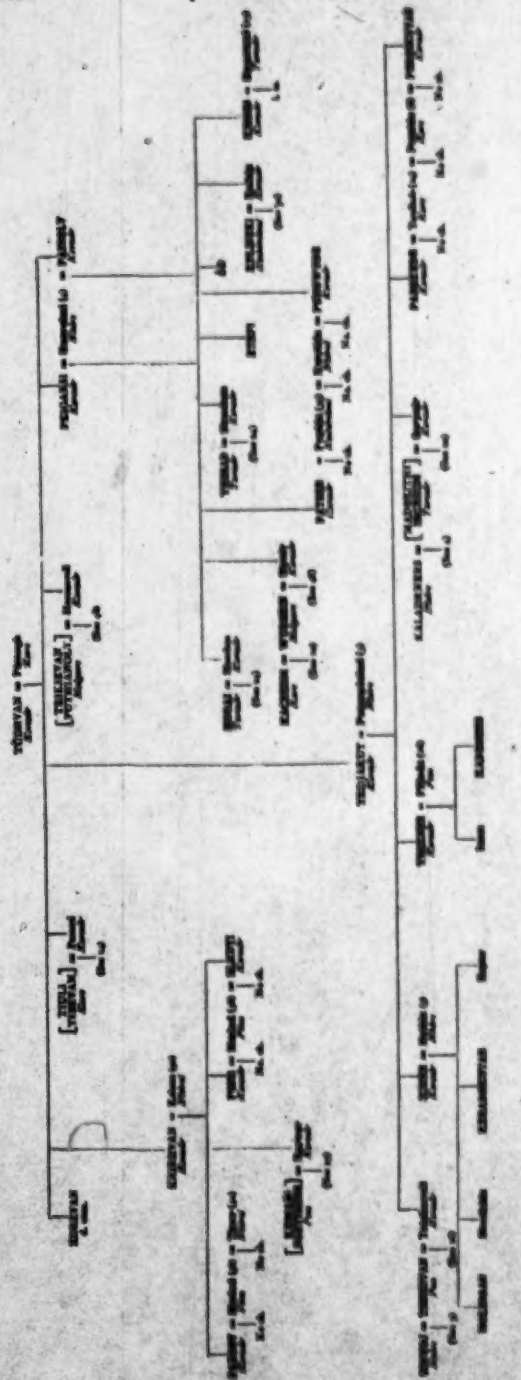

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

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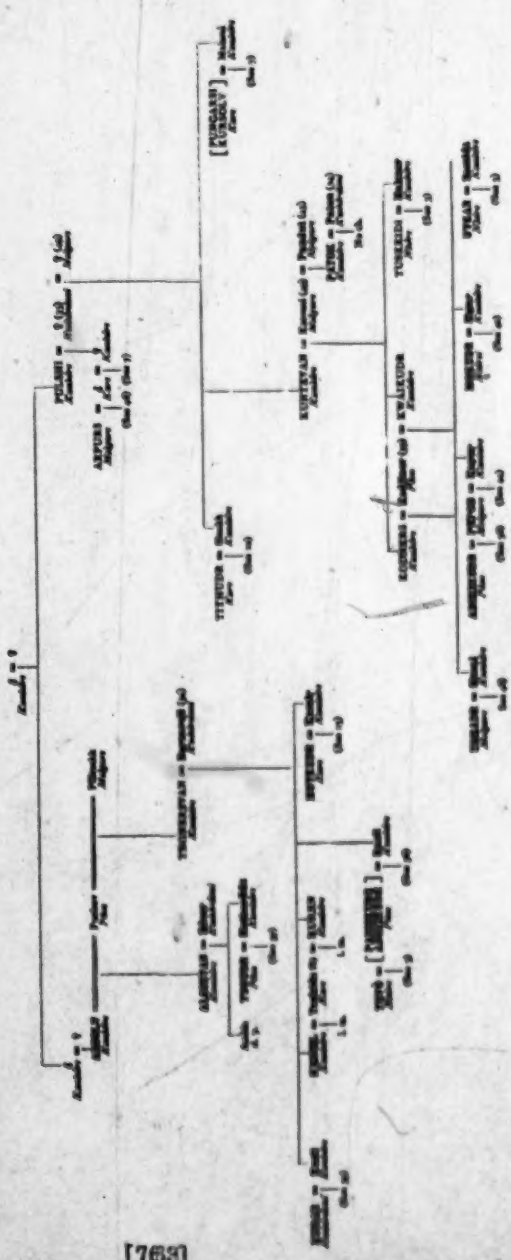

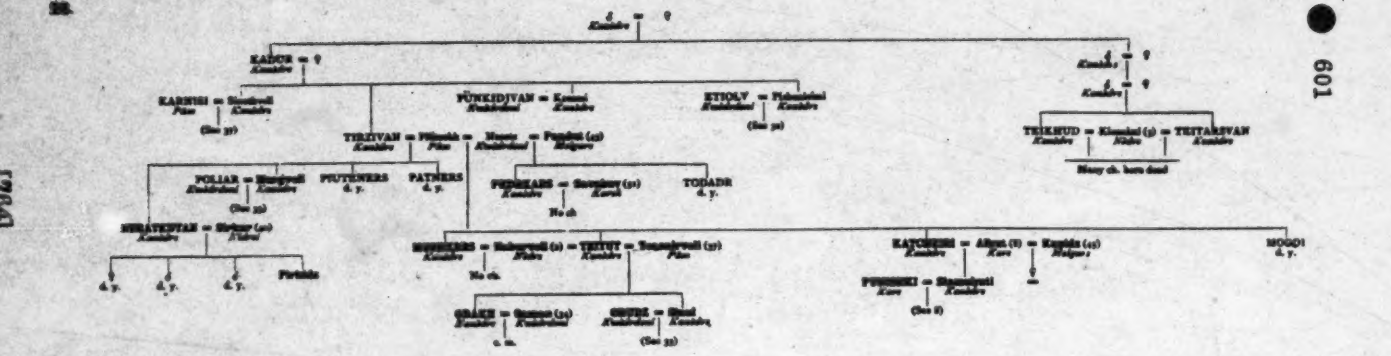

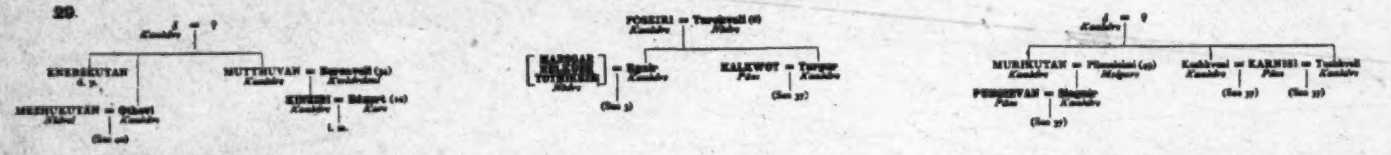

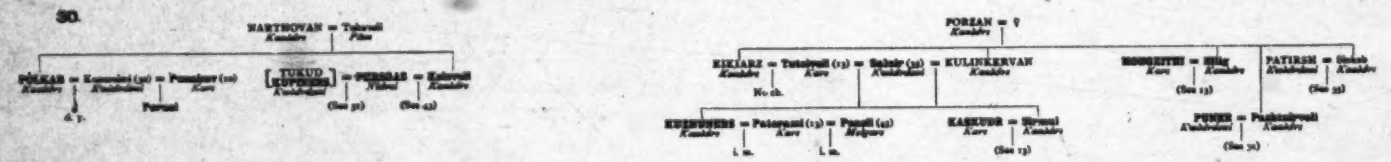

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1: Rivers E-5 (ca.1901-02) 1906 Toda

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

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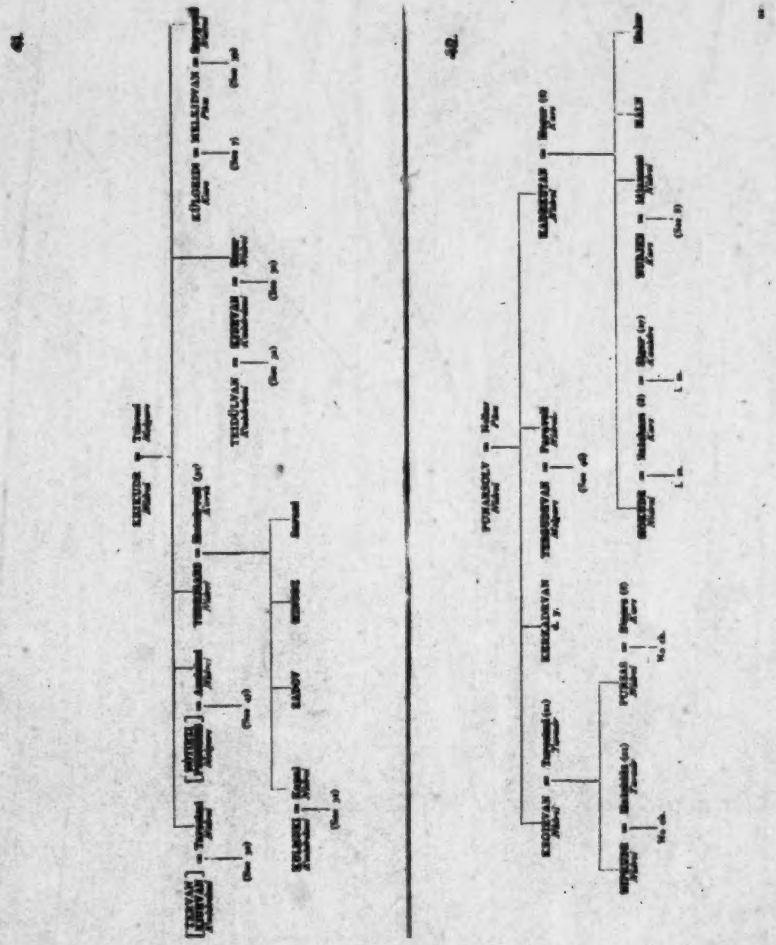

PILZOL = Pilvai
Malayar Toreali
d. y. d. y.
POSEIRI = Sindeg (25) = MIRSOTIVAN
Malayar Toreali Malayar
KURCHOVAN = KUKTEVAN = TIRRIVAN = [VIRCHEVAN PUTHERS] = Pandal
Pan Kambalar Kambalar Pan Malayar
(See 36) (See 27) (See 28) (See 38)
ARTHOLVAN = Sarolar (20) = TOHERS
Malayar Toreali Malayar
POLVERS KIDVERS [KERSERS TIVERS] = Kinnir
d. y. d. y. Toreali Malayar
(See 29)
NAJAR = Kwoldis
Malayar Nilgiri
No ch.
KARNODE = Pandels (1)
Malayar Kurs
No ch.
PEIDRUDR
TAVEUDR = Kinnir
Toreali Malayar
(See 30)
PURRS = Kinnal (23)
Malayar Toreali
1. m.
PANEKUDR = KATCHERI = Kinnir
Pan Kambalar Malayar
(See 36) (See 28)
MUDRIEVAN = ? (31)
Malayar Pan
PASADR = Alkur (32)
Malayar Pan
KUSHUPERS = Pandi
Kambalar Malayar
(See 31)
KARRO = Orvilla (24)
Malayar Toreali
1 m
PONNIKODR = Kinil
Toreali Malayar
(See 24)
HUTCHUD
SERMOKR

[771]

46.

ARPURS = ? (27) = Pandur (14)
Malayar Kambalar Kurs
OTKUTAN = ?
Nilgiri Malayar
(See 4)
[IDRKUDRVAN PERS MARIUNPUN] = Pilliari
Toreali Malayar
(See 22)
TERRUDRVAN = Sindeg = Perrarali (26) = Tyrainal (25)
Malayar No ch. No ch. Nilgiri Toreali
[KALKUDRS KINAUDR] = Kinnir
Kurs Malayar
(See 23)
[KEITAZVAN PUDRVAN] = Nadaiveli
Kurs Malayar
(See 13)
ARTOVAN = Tankali
Kurs Malayar
(See 14)

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

● 601

[173]

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

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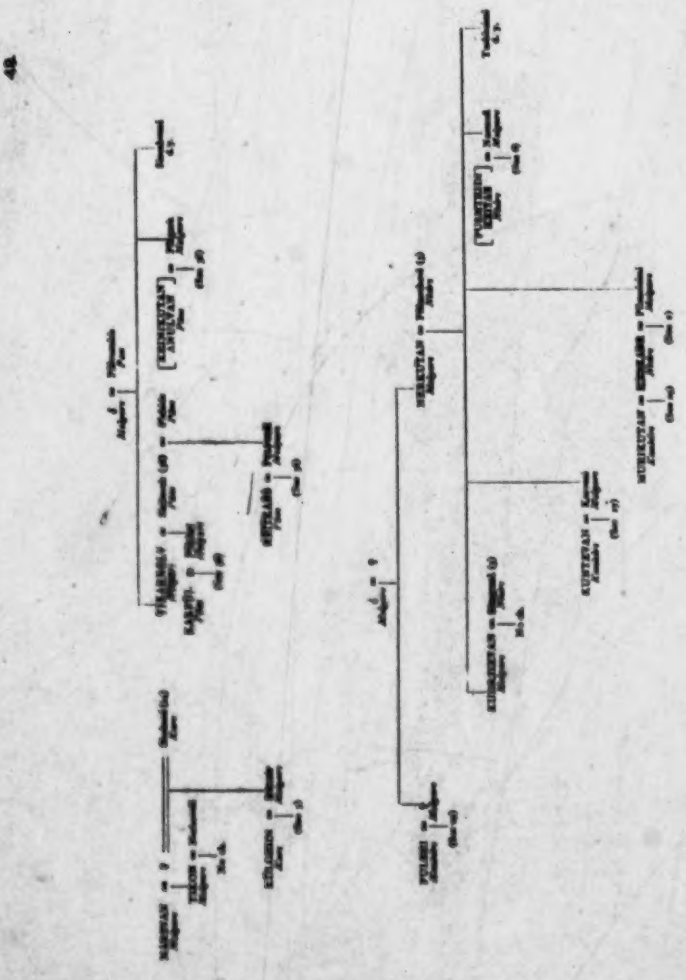

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

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1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda
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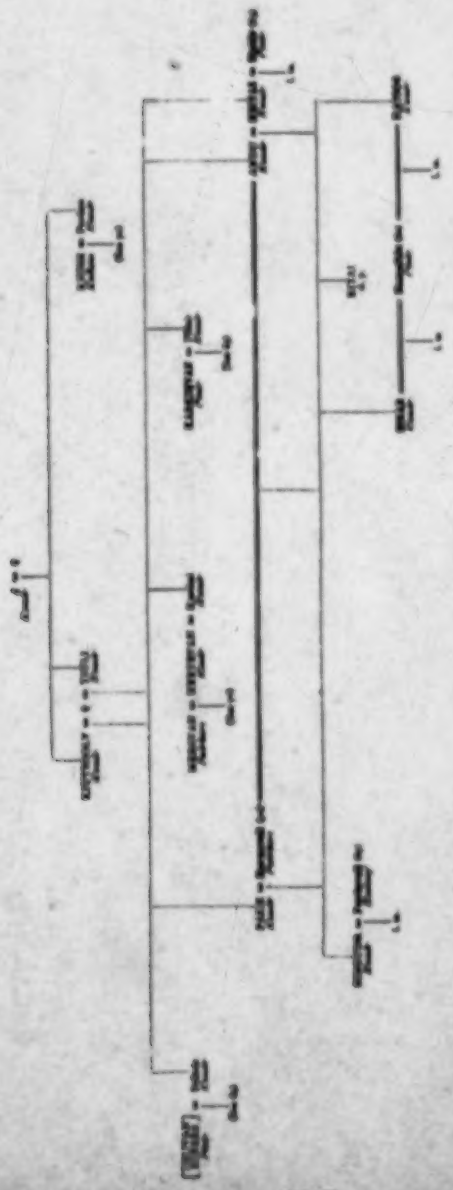

Li Rivers
601
E-5
(ca.1901-02) 1908
Tofa

57.

58.

[719]

[780]

[781]
KEITHIOLV
KERNERSVAN
PERSTUSHTI
KÜLTHERS
HARSHAR
KOHJON
KARJON
TILIODZ
PONGUDR
KUDBOLCH
TARSVAN
UVAN
PUNATVAN
TILIKARK
HERON
HARGUDR
MUSHKUTAN
PEITVAN
TUDAIRI
ATHERS
KOTEVAN MUSHTIRVAN ARSNERS
TAKHVAN PILYUR-N
PONKARS PANGUDR SIRIOP
TULINERS KARSNERS
KARSNERS
KAYOOL
MANINERS
PILIAG
KARSTUR
FERSTUSHTI
KÜLTHERS
PUKKIS
PILIKS
TÖVSNERS
KARSNERS
KUDBOLCH

[783]

1: Rivers E-5 (ca.1901-02) 1906 Toda

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1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

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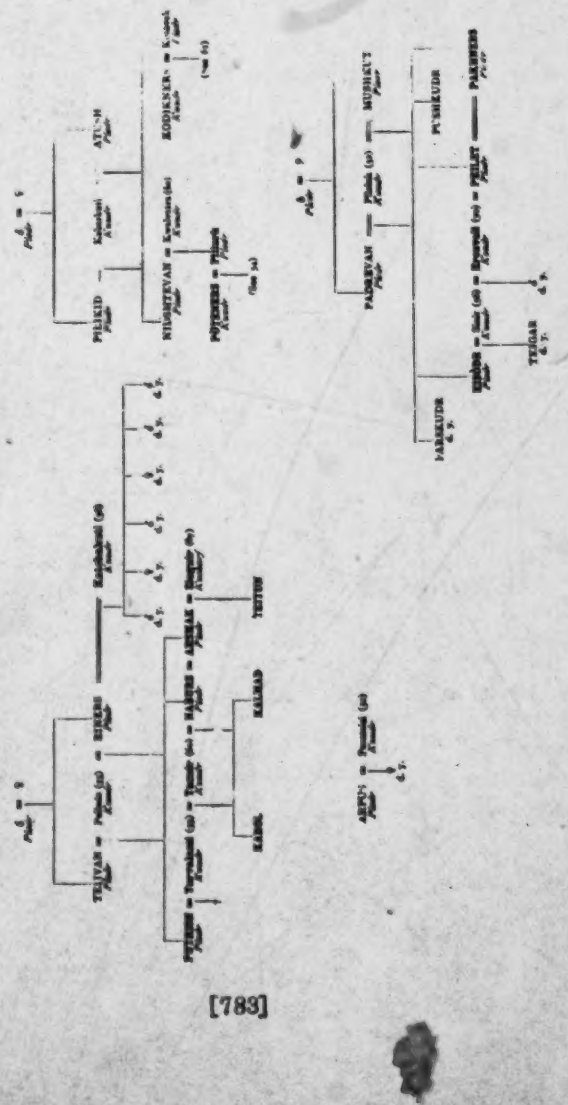

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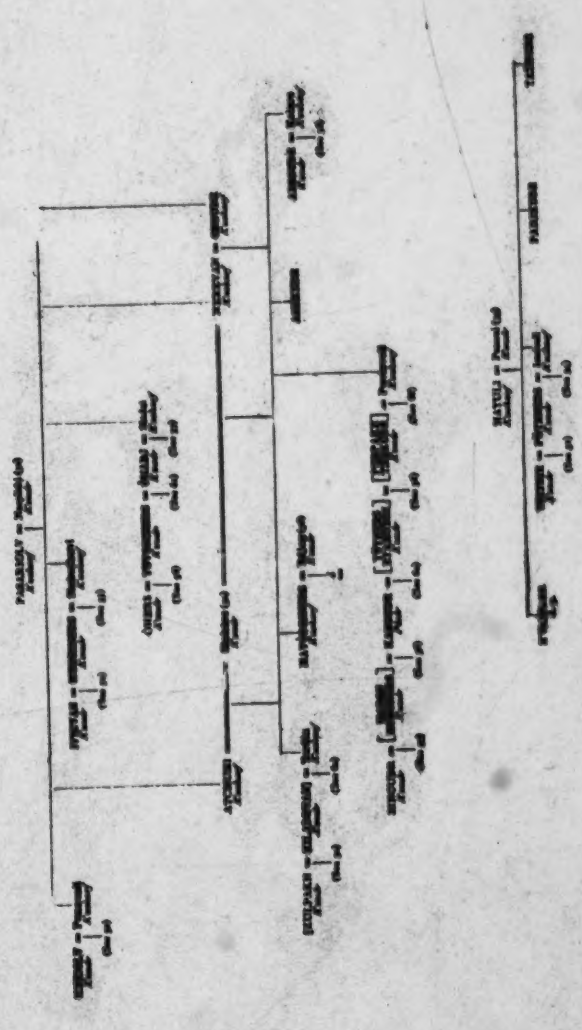

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1: Rivers E-5 (ca.1901-02) 1906 Toda

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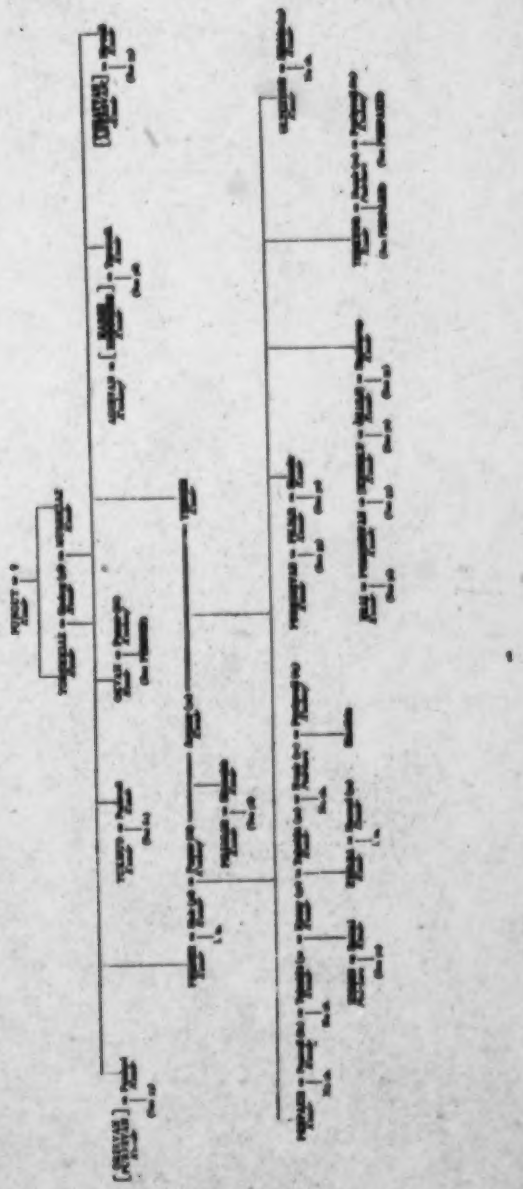

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

601

[787]

CHAP. VII.

551

Quêldirth.	Jînvanî.
Tushquilth.	Nastufi.
Muneth.	Ânchaguti.
Penpuv.	Chizarêm.
Dirthavilli.	Pentirêm.

553 A woman retains her maiden name on marriage; being known, for instance, as Nastufi, the wife of Beliâni.

551 It is etiquette in speaking of another man's wife to term her
576 either kottê or pannê;[7] the first, if her husband is of the
601 Pyki clan, the second if of the Pekkan, Tôdi, Kenna, or Kuttan clans.

A man calling to his wife, or a wife to her husband, would not say 'come here Nastufi or Beliâni,' but 'kukh itva, come here woman,' or 'âl itva, come here man.'

But the more proper term by which a man speaks of his wife is yen kâtvoti.[8]

According to these rules, people talking of the woman Nastufi, would describe her as Beliani pannê, or kottê. *He* would mention her as kâtvoti. He would *call out* to her as kukh.

List of Relationships.

601

Man, person, husband . .	Âl.
Man—young	Varsh.[9]

[7] Kottê. Pannê. Such terms are difficult. They are frequently of a depreciatory character.

Kôṭṭa – a fort or *large dwelling. Kôṭṭi – a person of a fort, a superior inhabitant.* Paṇi – *jewel.* Paṇi – *work.* [POPE.]

[8] Yen Kâtvoti. Yen or en – *my*, constantly prefixed in Drâvidian to words indicative of relationship.

Kaṭṭu – *bind, join.* V is an insertion of tense, used in forming verbal nouns with a future or indefinite temporal signification.

Ati is a feminine termination.

The word means, '*she who is bound to me.*' [POPE.]

[9] This is, I think, Sansk.: purusha. But there is vîras, *a hero.*

In old high Tamil we have virral, and the termination al becomes in Toda ash as a general rule. [POPE.]

2: Marshall G-5 (1870) 1873 Toda

601

Boy, son	Mokh.
Woman, girl, daughter, wife	Kukh.[10]
Father	App'n, êyan, ên, or ênin.
Mother	Avv.
Wife	Kâtvoti.
Youth, bachelor	Mokh varsh.
Child—son	Kin mokh.
Child—daughter	Tüj mokh.[11]
Infant—son	Popen.[12]
Infant—daughter	Kin minthki.[13]
Twins	Mor mokh.
Fatherless / Motherless / Orphan	Tobbâri.[14]
Widower	Baruda.[15]
Widow, barren woman	Mudegitti,[16] barudi.
Great-grandfather	Pêvian.
Great-grandmother	Pêviavv.
Grandfather	Pîyan.
Grandmother	Pîavv.
Brother—elder	Ennon.
Brother—younger	Ennorvet, enta.

[10] The etymology is doubtful. One is reminded of Greek, gunaik. In Tamil kokku = *copulatio.* [POPE.]
Kuk = *a receptacle*, also *pudendum muliebre.*

[11] Tüj mokh. Here mokh = *child.* High Tamil, maga.
Tüj is a difficulty. In Kanarese, tush = *inferior.* I imagine this is the idea. [POPE.]

[12] [13] The derivations of these words have already been given in this Chapter.

[14] Tobbâri. Tagappan = tam + appan = *their father*, or simply *father*; Tamil. This is pronounced commonly tôppan.
Âri = '*one deprived of.*' Drâvidian root aru. [POPE.]

[15] Baruda. In old Kanarese, barru = *decay, die, fail in strength.*
In Tamil this root is varru.
Sansk. : vridda = *old.*
Tamil: maladi = *barren women.* [POPE.]

[16] Mudegitti, moṭṭai = *baldness*; muṇḍai = *bald, a widow—whose head is shaved.* [POPE.]

2: Marshall G-5 (1870) 1873 Toda
76

CHAP. VII.

601

Sister—elder	Enakkan.
Sister—younger	En norvet kukh, enta.
Father's brother—elder	Ennin perud.
Father's brother—younger	Ênnin kirud.
Father's sister—elder and younger	Mâmi.
Mother's brother—elder and younger	Mâman.
Mother's sister—elder	Perud avv.
Mother's sister—younger	Kirud avv.
Son's wife	Mortwirth.
Daughter's husband	Enman mokh.
Husband's mother / Wife's mother	Mâmi.
Husband's father / Wife's father	Mâman.
Husband's brother—elder	Yen âl ennon.
Husband's brother—younger	Yen âl norvet.
Wife's sister—elder	Yen kâtvoti akkan.
Wife's sister—younger	Yen kâtvoti norvet kukh.
Wife's brother	Pâyâl or Bêiâl.
Grandson—son's son	Yen mokh ver et mokh.
Granddaughter—son's daughter	Yen mokh ver et kukh.
Old man	Kelâl.
Old woman	Kelachi.
Family, relation	Anatama, pâltiâl, pâyâl,[17] kutasaram.[18]
Ancestor	Mûpu, doddavan.
Clan	Kôleh—in Badaga language.

[17] Pâltiâl, pâyâl. In old high Tamil we have pâttil = *house*.

Âl is the constant abbreviation for avargal = *they*. Thus the word pâttiâl = *those belonging to the house*.

The Sanskrit root pâ = *protect, cherish*.

The two words are probably different forms of the same. [POPE.]

[18] Kutasaram. Tamil, kûda = *together*; çaram = *a going*.

In Sanskrit kuṭumba is *family*. [POPE.]

2: Marshall G-5 (1870) 1873 Toda

601

The word Anatama,[19] which means elder and younger brother, is the generic title given to all very near relations.

Regarding the appellation for cousins, the people say they have no names for them—'The son of my little-father, ênnin kirud, is the same as my brother.' Yen perudên kirudên mokh yen aṇan taman ershchi.

[19] Anatama. In Kanarese, anna|tamm|andaru.
elder younger they (who are)

So in Telugu, anna|damu|lu. Here we have soft n, d for t and pluralising particle lu.

In Tamil, aṇṇan = *elder brother*; tambi = *younger brother*.

The Drâvidian root ân = *upper*, and may be compared with Greek ἀνά. Tam = *one's own*; so in terms of relationship = *my own, my*, a familiar kindly expression. [POPE.]

553 drinking springs, are names of gods. Female children are not taken to the *Pâlthchi* 551 and christened; there is no ceremony in their case. The mother calls her female child by any name she fancies. She will never give the child her own name.

584 Early betrothals are common amongst the Todas. The boy is taken to the girl's 583 house and salutes his future father-in-law by lifting the feet of the latter to his forehead. An interchange of buffaloes completes the contract. When the time arrives for claiming his wife, the young man goes alone to the mand of his father-in-law, who gives him the girl, and a separate house to live in for a few days. There is another exchange of buffaloes, and the bride is taken home.

When two or more brothers* are the husbands of one wife, this ceremony is performed with the eldest alone.

---

601 * Names used to express relationships in Toda.

English.	Toda.	Literal Meaning.
1. Father	*En, Eyen.*	
2. Mother	*Aff.*	
3. Son	*Mâkh.*	
4. Daughter	*Kukh.*	
5. Father's elder brother	*Peruddn*	Great father.
6. „ younger „	*Kirudin*	Little do.
7. „ elder sister	*Mâmi.*	
8. „ younger „		
9. Mother's elder brother	*Mâman.*	
10. „ younger „		
11. „ elder sister	*Perudaff*	Great mother.
12. „ younger „	*Kirudaff*	Little do.
13. Father's brother's son	*An*	Brother.
14. „ „ daughter	*Akhan*	Sister.
15. „ sister's son	*Machen.*	
16. „ „ daughter	*Tajmakh*	Female.
17. Mother's sister's son	*An*	Brother.
18. „ „ daughter	*Akhan*	Sister.
19. „ brother's son	*Machen.*	
20. „ „ daughter	*Tajmakh*	Female.

Nos. 5, 6, 13, and 14 at first sight would appear traceable to polyandry, but Nos. 11, 12, 17, and 18 create a difficulty.

Todas have no name for *husband* and *wife* beyond *Âit* and *Tajmakh*, which simply mean man and woman.

In *Anthropological Journal for January and July* 1871, page 28, *ya* is said to be *father* in Toda. I do not find it so.

551

Male Names.	Female Names.
1. Kôvi, a sacred buffalo bell of a *Tirivei* is so called.	1. Kâthaveli, (lit.) silver coin.
2. Perudl, literally a great man.	2. Darpâhinir, (lit.) a jewel scale.
3. Nârîkôt, (lit.) child *of* jackal.	3. Tâkmâh, (lit.) gold one.
4. Pookôt, (lit.) child *of* gold.	4. Bîrath, no meaning that I can find out.
5. Tshinkôt, (lit.) do.	5. Depbill, (lit.) silver ring.
6. Padrithrh, (lit.) name of a god who resides on a mountain.	6. Pundshilkammi, (lit.) gold ankle bells.
7. Kôdâlvên, (lit.) the man of the funeral.	7. Kattshien, (lit.) Cutcherry, Sircar office.
8. Âlvên, (lit.) a man.	8. Pîlimpurugn, (lit.) white ear ring in the top of the ear.
9. Belauvên, (lit.) like silver.	9. Pîlimpa, (lit.) white ring.
10. Kirnâli. (lit.) little one.	10. Tâkôn, (lit.) doctor. This child was so called because an European doctor cured it of an illness soon after its birth.

TODA MARRIAGE REGULATIONS AND TABOOS

By M. B. EMENEAU

IT IS many years now that the Todas of the Nilgiris in southern India have been known as a people of peculiar customs and it is thirty years since these peculiar customs were described with a wealth of detail by Rivers in his monumental volume.[1] Even now, however, much remains to be gleaned, and this paper attempts to supplement and correct Rivers' account of one important department of the life of the Todas, viz. the regulations concerning marriage and the taboos associated with these regulations.

A comprehensive account of the general framework of Toda organization is necessary, though it will be in part repetition of what is already well-known. The tribe has, first, two main divisions: toɪrðas and töövi∫j.[2] For marriage purposes these divisions are endogamous. Each is subdivided into a number of divisions called mod (the familiar mund is the Badaga form of the word). This word is used also to denote any of the small villages of a few huts in which the Todas live, any of the dairies which stand isolated from a village, including the most sacred of these dairies, the tɪɪmod, any of the funeral places, which usually are free of buildings, in fact any spot which at any time is the scene of Toda activities. But modoɪ∫, "man (or, people) of the mod" is used only of the members of a mod in its widest sense, that of a subdivision of the people, and in this paper mod will be used only in this sense. The toɪrðas are reckoned to have ten mod, the töövi∫j five. These divisions are exogamous. Membership in a mod is determined by legal paternity; a man belongs to the mod of his "father," as does a woman until her marriage. The "father" is the man who has last given the bow to the mother of the child in the ceremony called pʊsʊtt, "act of giving bow."[3] Physical paternity does not count at all for legal purposes, as Rivers has clearly stated. The legal father then is the legal husband of the child's mother, and the husband must be of a different mod from that to which his wife belonged by birth.

Further, a man cannot marry a woman if the two are po∫joɪ∫. Membership in a group of people known as po∫joɪ∫ is determined by descent in the female line. The female members of the po∫joɪ∫ to whom a man belongs are in his own generation his sisters, the daughters of his mother's sisters, the

[1] W. H. R. Rivers, *The Todas* (London, 1906).

[2] For an explanation of the phonetic symbols employed see the final paragraph of the paper.

[3] See Rivers, pp. 319–23.

582 601 618 daughters of his maternal grandmother's sisters' daughters, and so on; in the preceding generation his mother, his mother's sisters, his maternal grandmother's mother's daughters' daughters, and so on. To the generation younger than him belong his sisters' daughters, his mother's sisters' daughters' daughters, and so on. A man will also designate as his poɬjoiɬ his mother's sons, his maternal grandmother's sons, his sisters' sons, and so on for any son of a woman who is related to him as poɬjoiɬ, but not the descendants of these males. This network of relations in the female line cuts across *mod* divisions, and divides the toirðas at present into five exogamous sets of poɬjoiɬ, the töüviɬj into six. Rivers[4] has given a concrete example of how *mod*-relationships are handed down from one generation to the next; the relationships of poɬjoiɬ are preserved in the same way even when links in the relationship are no longer remembered.

582 935 A man, then, while marrying within his own half of the whole tribe, must marry outside of his own *mod* and outside of his poɬjoiɬ. As it is put by the Todas themselves, he must not marry a woman who is ŭm*d*mortkværɪvoj, "one who is born to one and the same mod" or poɬjoiɬ to him. The other peculiarities of Toda marriage and sexual relationships, viz. polyandry, the institution whereby a man may take another's wife upon the payment of compensation, that by which a man may take a concubine from the other half of the tribe, and the general license permitting a man to have sexual intercourse with a woman who takes his fancy without any permanent tie being formed, seem to have blinded observers to these fundamental rules, which govern not only marriages, but also all sexual relationships. No man may marry or have intercourse with any woman who is related to him through a wholly male line or through a wholly female line. This is the system which is generally followed by the castes and communities of Hindu south India (with some exceptions which follow the rules prevalent in north India or some peculiar system of their own). The corollary following from it, that a man may marry his cross-cousin, obtains of course among the Todas as it does among the other south Indian communities following these rules. Among the Todas it is optional, though preferable, and is applied in the symmetrical fashion.[5] It seems to be the rule among many of the south Indian communities that the mother's brother's daughter is preferred, though without excluding the possibility of marriage to the father's sister's daughter; there is no trace of this preference for asymmetry among the Todas.

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[4] Page 490.
[5] Rivers, p. 514, and my informants generally.

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Rivers' account of the general rule[6] is incomplete and in part incorrect. How this came about is of course not certain, but a guess may be hazarded on the cause. There is even now, when information is apparently more easily obtained on most subjects than it was thirty years ago, some reticence and embarrassment about the subject of poǰjoıǰ. It seems to be connected in part at least with the taboos that surround the relationship, perhaps more with the general air of indecency and ridicule with which the Todas approach the subject. This will be made clear when an account is given of the names of the divisions and the stories behind them. At the moment it is necessary to criticize Rivers' account. He interprets the term poǰjoıǰ (his püliol) as including both sets of prohibited affinities. This, being quite contrary to Toda usage, explains the impression he records that "it came almost as a new idea to some of the Todas that his püliol included all the people of his own clan" (i.e. mod). It was a new and wholly erroneous idea. The list of püliol which he gives is in part a mixture of two sets of relationships, in part incorrect, and as a whole incomplete. A man may not marry the daughters of his father's brothers (Rivers' heading i) or the sisters of his father (heading iii), since they are ün̈dmortkvæıdvoj. The daughters of his mother's sisters (heading ii) and the daughters of his sisters (heading iii) are forbidden, since they are poǰjoıǰ. His fourth head, the daughters of the sisters of his father's father, gave him trouble because of the two cases of marriages to such persons found in the genealogies.[7] The truth is that such marriages are not forbidden. The sisters of a man's paternal grandfather are not poǰjoıǰ to him, but ün̈dmortkvæıdvoj; they cannot have married his ün̈dmortkvæıdvoj, and their daughters will not be related to him in any prohibited way. The rule given[8] that a person must not marry the child of his motʃiŋj (matchuni, i.e. cross-cousin) is incorrect. His cross-cousin may have married a man of his own mod, in which case the daughter will be forbidden to him. If she has married outside his mod, there are no objections. Again, if a man's male motʃiŋj has married a woman who is poǰjoıǰ to the man's mother, the motʃiŋj's daughter will be forbidden to the man; otherwise, not. The case in the last paragraph on p. 511 of Rivers' work, that of a man marrying a daughter of his sister's daughter, is impossible, since she would be his poǰjoıǰ. The final case in this paragraph, the marriage of two brothers to the daughter of their sister's son, violated no rule; the disapproval that attended the marriage was undoubtedly due to the disproportion in age, not as such, but as depriving

[6] Rivers, pp. 509–11.
[7] Rivers, p. 511.
[8] Rivers, p. 511 *mod.* and again p. 513.

some young man of an opportunity to marry, a consideration which must always have some weight in a community as small as that of the Todas. It should be remarked further that relations of poljoɪl are extremely hard to trace in Rivers' genealogical tables. This is partly due to the intrinsic difficulty of using for this purpose a set of tables constructed for another purpose, partly to the fact that there are many inaccuracies of detail in the assignment of children both to fathers and to mothers. To set all right two sets of tables should be constructed, one for each kind of relationship: whether any useful purpose would be served by the task may be considered doubtful.

A note on the semantics of the word poljoɪl may be given here. It means "man (or person, or people) of the polj." The most usual meaning of polj is "sacred dairy," a meaning which will not explain our word. Another meaning is found, viz. "Badaga house" (the Toda house is called ɑɪs). A sentence such as the following no doubt gives the clue: emelom ŭɯd-voljoɪloɪvemi, "we all are persons of the same (ŭɯd) polj (i.e. poljoɪl)." It is quite obvious that our word is based on an obsolete meaning "house," the members of which, a man, his mother, his sisters, form the nucleus of the whole poljoɪl institution. The semantic development of polj should be stated then in the following order: first, "house;" second, "dairy." The second meaning then drove out, for reasons at present unexplainable, the first except in the application to the houses of the Badagas and in the compound poljoɪl and sentences like the one given above, which are rather based on the old first meaning of the word then reformed on the basis of the word poljoɪl. That this interpretation of the Toda words is correct is seen from the Tamil cognate paḷḷi, "building, temple."

As was said above, there are at present five sets of poljoɪl among the toɪrðɑs. Another has in recent years become extinct by the death of its last female member, sinɯl of the kerɯsoɪl (found in Rivers' Table 28 as Sinul). Of the remaining ones the names and stories are as follows. The kŭɑɪæmboljoɪl or oɪrvɯtɣɑɪkvoljoɪl is said to be descended from kŭɑɪæm (Rivers' Kwoten). Of him it is told that his spiritual power was so great that he lit fire on the surface of a stream; his poljoɪl make fire by friction with great ease. The other name is based on a story that one man of the line bought for six rupees six (oɪr) cakes made with chillies (the cake is called pɯṭ). A crow (kɑɪk) carried one off, and the man, leaving the others behind, chased the crow, whereupon crows carried off all the other cakes. This story like most of the others to follow ridicules the stupidity of the members of the line. Another is called moɣðɯtkoɪtʃvojvoljoɪl, "people of the house of one who heated the child at the fire." The story goes that in

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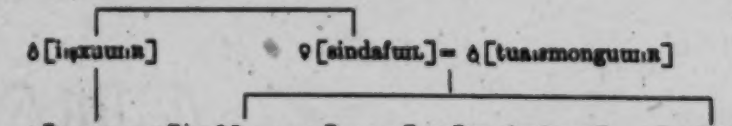
of the marriage to take place was the occasion of quarrelling and attempts to penalize the person responsible for the failure. [iːʂxuuᵐᴿ] (21, Idrshkwòdr) has one son [pumxuuᵐᴿ]. His sister [sindafuᴵᴸ] (Sindavul) married [tuaːsmonguuᵐᴿ] (59, Tormungudr) [14] and they had two daughters, Mary and [sotjabuːf]. [iːʂxuᵐᴿ] wanted Mary to marry his son, her cross-cousin, but since the boy was not old enough, Mary was married to [naso:n] (son of [teːpax] 20, Teipakh). (In the tribal system [naso:n] and [sindafuᴵᴸ] would use brother-sister terms to one another, since they were classified thus in the same patrilineal sib, but Mary could have been married to [naso:n] in spite of that, since she would have been of another patrilineal sib and not related to him through a matrilineal sib; no violation was done by this marriage either to the tribal system or to the Christian system.) On the occasion of this marriage it seems that the girl's father paid a fine of one buffalo (or cow, I am uncertain which) to [iːʂxuᵐᴿ], a clear carry-over from tribal custom, and promised that when his other daughter grew up she should be married to [pumxuuᵐᴿ]. When she came of age however, [pumxuuᵐᴿ], who is a ne'er-do-well, was unable to support a wife. Her father consequently went back on his promise and made arrangements for her to marry [tõumuːʂkuᴸᴺ]. [iːʂxuuᵐᴿ] tried to have the publishing of the banns stopped and even went in his appeals as far as the Bishop of Madras. The missionaries, who have no objections to cross-cousin marriage, helped [pumxuuᵐᴿ] by giving him cattle with which he might start his household, but he sold them and squandered the money. Under the circumstances nothing was left but to let the marriage of [tõumuːʂkuᴸᴺ] and [sotjabuːf] take place. The Toda Christians then held a formal meeting, assisted by one of the tribal Todas, [peːðoᴿ] (7, Peithol), and he handed down a judgment with the consent of the majority that the girl's father should pay a fine of three cows to [iːʂxuᵐᴿ]. This was a purely tribal solution and when the missionaries heard of it, they objected vigorously. The community decided however that the fine must be paid and a story was invented that [tuaːsmonguuᵐᴿ] owed two cows in the normal course of events to [iːʂxuᵐᴿ]. These two were paid over and the third was smuggled along with them without the knowledge of the missionaries.



[14] A marriage not permissible within the tribe, since the parties were of different moieties.

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emotional attitude of the Todas towards their matrilineal sib-system is presented. It is thought that in this use of song material the "amateurish" methodology against which Sapir protested has been avoided, and some light has been thrown upon Toda institutions in a way which he would have approved. The study ends with some discussion of the bearing of the Todas' dual descent system on the historical question of their "origin," which has engaged the attention of most of those who have studied them.

Rivers' account of the kinship system of the Todas is essentially correct.[1] Linguistic research with this tribe has added little but detail to our knowledge of this department of the tribal institutions, except in the important matter of dual descent, which escaped Rivers' meticulous investigations.[2] In this paper I shall present the kinship terms in correct linguistic shape, and shall make the few factual corrections that are necessary. The main body of the paper will be devoted to a discussion of the dual descent system.

The most important factual correction in Rivers' account relates to the age distinctions made in the kinship system. He records three age-groups in EGO's generation based on age relative to that of EGO.[4] In fact, the system makes only two distinctions. There is a dichotomy on the basis of age relative to EGO. An elder brother or male parallel cousin in either patrilineal or matrilineal sib or outside them (son of EGO's mother's clan-sister) is oŋ in reference, oŋoɪ in address; an elder sister or female parallel cousin related in the same ways is okn in reference, okoɪ in address. A younger sibling or parallel cousin related in the same ways, without distinction of sex, is -ɵɯr-fed in reference, with the appropriate pronominal form preceding, and endoɪ in address. En-ɵɯr-fed is "my younger sibling," literally "one who was born with, or after, me;" nɯm-ɵɯr-fed "your younger sibling," an-ɵɯr-fed (or an-dan-ɵɯr-fed) "his or her younger sibling," om-ɵɯr-fed "our (inclusive) younger sibling," em-ɵɯr-fed "our (exclusive) younger sibling," nɯm-ɵɯr-fed "your (plural) younger sibling;" "their younger sibling" is the same as "his or her" or oɵa n-ɵɯr-fed. If the sex of the person referred to must be indicated, -mox added to any of the forms signifies a male, -ʒu ɪx (= ku ɪx) a female.[5]

[1] W. H. R. Rivers, *The Todas* (London, 1906), pp. 483–501 for the kinship terms. The volume is referred to in this paper as Rivers. In mentioning members of the tribe by name a number is frequently added in brackets after the name; this refers to the corresponding genealogical table in Rivers.

[2] See M. B. Emeneau, *Toda Marriage Regulations and Taboos* (American Anthropologist, Vol. 39, pp. 103–12, 1937) for a detailed account of the matrilineal sibs which are found within the moieties and cut across the well-known division into patrilineal sibs. In the present paper I employ the same system of phonemic writing that was used in that paper, with the corrections made in my later paper *Personal Names of the Todas* (American Anthropologist, Vol. 40, pp. 205–23, 1938), p. 205 fn. 1. In this paper I use š, ž for palatalised alveolar sibilants, c, ɟ for post-dental affricates and č, ǰ for palatalised post-dental affricates; ɯ is a high, back, unrounded vowel.

Acknowledgments are due again to the American Council of Learned Societies for aid in my field-work in 1935–36 and to the American Philosophical Society (Penrose Fund) for aid in 1936–38.

[4] Pp. 486 bottom, 487, and passim.

[5] Rivers, p. 487, said: "I do not know whether the children of two women of the same generation in [a patrilineal sib] would call one another brother and sister." The terms are extended to all children of women whom EGO would refer to as mother, whether they are in his patrilineal or matrilineal sib, or outside them. The term

[Facing P. 160]

DIAGRAM 1. GENEALOGY OF TODAS (MAN SPEAKING).

Capitals indicate reference terms of a classificatory nature, numerals reference terms of a descriptive nature, and small letters address terms. (See Appendix.)

[See pp. 176-179 - ANALYST]

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601 561 114 [576] Besides these Rivers distinguished a relative of this type who is of the same age as EGO. This distinction is in fact impossible, both in the strict temporal sense, and in the Toda cultural pattern. It is always known how the persons in question stand to one another in the matter of relative time of birth, and in such cultural contexts as formal greetings[6] no room is left by the pattern for a class of the same age as EGO. For example, at a gathering each new male arrival must salute all the males already present with the proper formal term of address, and among these all classificatory elder brothers must be greeted. If any of those present is neglected, the offender is reprimanded and if necessary fined for the neglect. The pattern in its strict application makes a clean dichotomy and in practically all circumstances the dichotomy is rigidly enforced. The word given by Rivers for his third class is koɪ̯ "friend," occurring chiefly with pronominal forms preceding, eŋoɪ̯ or en-goɪ̯ "my friend" (in address -ɛs is added), nun-goɪ̯ "your friend," an-goɪ̯ or tan-goɪ̯ "his or her friend," etc. These terms are normally used between or with reference to close friends of the same age-level who are not related to one another (e.g., typically between two persons who belong to different moieties). They may also be used where formality is not enforced by the pattern; I have no certain information as to whether they could be used between siblings, but there is some slight evidence to be discussed below which would indicate that it is possible. It is to be noted however that this is only permissive and that the term does not designate any kinship class or even any relationship that is highly formalized in the culture.[7]

533 601 [193] When two persons sing together, certain subjects allow or require that vocatives be used at the beginning, the end, and important division-points of the songs. In most of the texts that I have recorded the proper kinship terms are used in such songs. Ten songs use the conventional song-words for "friend (vocative)," enbocʌoɪ̯ɑɪ, eningoɪ̯ɑɪ.[8] Three situations may be divided off. In the first (three songs) the two singers are of different moieties and presumably no "lover-mistress" relationship would require kinship terms.[9] In a second class (four songs) membership of the same moiety might very well involve a relationship where kinship terms should be used, but I do not know of any such relationship; two of the songs were sung by the same pair of singers and were dictated to me at a sufficient interval of time so that the use of "friend" terms is guaranteed. In a third class (three songs) there was certainly relationship between the singers, but as dictated the "friend" terms were used. These songs were dictated rather early in my field-work before I realized all the implications of the

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in address is the simple vocative (distinguished by sex and relative age); in reference the simple brother-sister forms might be used or, where more exact reference is necessary, descriptive terms. In the case of address to cross-cousins of the same sex as used the brother-sister terms are used (see note 7 below).

[6] Rivers, pp. 496-98.

[7] In the case also of address to cross-cousins of the same sex as the speaker there is no room for Rivers' third classification (p. 488 bottom); only age older or younger than that of EGO is taken into account in determining the kinship terms to be used.

[114] [8] For the nature of the song-words, see my paper *The Songs of the Todas* (Proceedings, American Philosophical Society, Vol. 77, pp. 343-60, 1937), especially pp. 356-59.

[9] For this relationship, see Rivers, pp. 526-29.

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song-language, and it is possible that the informants, who happened to be in no case the singers, dictated incorrectly. In one song pi̯ɲuːr (Piliar, 52) and merɲuːs (Mudriners, 57) sang; these men were of the same patrilineal sib and used "brother" terms to one another. In another sindurp (Sintharap), wife of kuːuːsi̯aff (Kuriolv, 52), and konar (Kosar, 57) sang; these women would certainly have used "sister" terms to one another. In the third song, which was dreamed, two men recently dead were singing: taːrθi̯xaːm, son of sirɲuːr (Siriar, 20), and tɔɔθɑuːs, son of torkas (Tokas) and punnur (Puner, 23); they belonged to the same patrilineal sib and the former called the latter eɲuː "father." Other dreamed songs in which dead persons sang used the correct kinship terms. It is difficult to interpret this small minority of songs in which relationship was neglected. It may be possible that relationship can be neglected; I prefer to suspect mistakes in the record until further field work can clear the matter up.

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The kinship system is of the type known as the Dakota-Iroquois system (see accompanying diagrams and Appendix). The salient points of the system are those stressed by Rivers—the obligatory indication of age-distinctions in ɑɔɔ's generation (with the qualification made in the preceding discussion) and the permissive indication in the first ascending generation (see p. 163 below); the obligatory distinction in the first ascending generation between father's brothers and male parallel cousins and mother's sisters and female parallel cousins on the one hand, and father's sisters and female parallel cousins and mother's brothers and male parallel cousins on the other, and in ɑɔɔ's generation between the children of these two groups. A clear distinction is made between terms used in reference and those used in address. The reference terms are built about a core of simplex classificatory terms with a large number of phrasal and frequently *ad hoc* terms to indicate those to whom the simplex terms do not apply. Permissively, the simplex terms also may be replaced by phrasal terms when very exact reference is needed, e.g., man-mɔɔs "son of sibling of sex opposed to that of ɑɔɔ" (itself phrasal, but in connotation a simplex) and man-guːs "daughter, etc." may be replaced by en-ekeŋ-faːɑlfoj-mɔɔs "son who was born to my elder sister (male speaking)," en-ɑuːp-fad-mɔɔk-faːɑlfoj-guːs "daughter who was born to my younger brother (female speaking)," etc. The terms of address, on the other hand, are all simplex classificatory terms and, being extended very widely, neglect a number of the reference classifications, indicated either by simplex or by phrasal terms. A summary of the system follows:

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There is no self-reciprocating terminology in address. In reference moːtiŋ "cross-cousin" is self-reciprocating, since it does not distinguish sex or relative age; when a permissively added word indicates the sex, the self-reciprocating nature of the term is destroyed. In ɑɔɔ's generation his siblings and classificatory parallel cousins are referred to and addressed by terms which distinguish age older than himself and younger than himself respectively and sex is distinguished in the case of those older than himself.

Sex is specified in referring to and addressing members of the ascending generations, except in referring to the cross-cousins of one's parents and of one's parents' siblings and parallel cousins (en-in-moːtiŋ "my father's cross-cousin," en-af-moːtiŋ "my mother's cross-

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DIAGRAM 2. GENEALOGY OF TERMS (WOMAN SPEAKING).
Only the section is given where female usage differs from male.

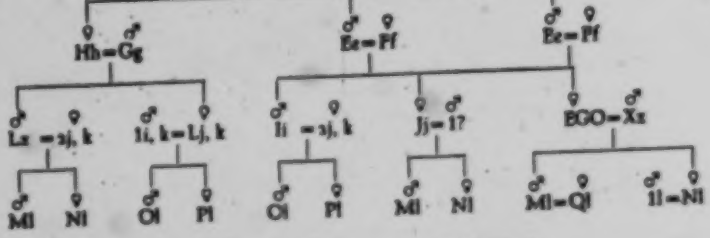


DIAGRAM 3. GENEALOGY OF TERMS FOR WIFE'S RELATIVES.

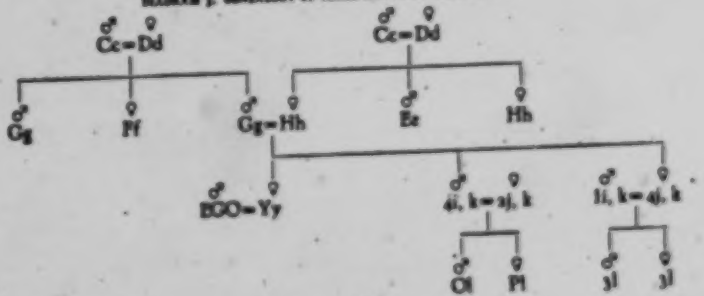
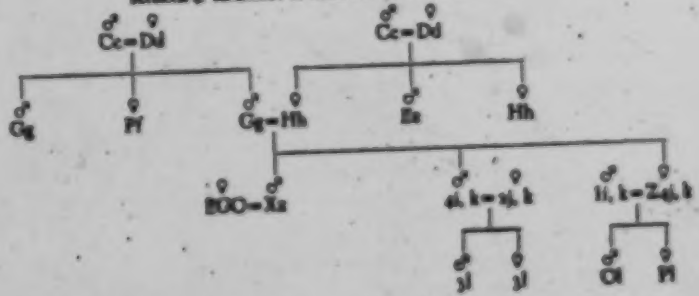


DIAGRAM 4. GENEALOGY OF TERMS FOR HUSBAND'S RELATIVES.



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cousin;" sex may however be indicated by the addition of the respective sex-denoting words). In ego's generation sex is specified in referring to and addressing his siblings and parallel cousins older than himself, and in addressing cross-cousins, but not in referring to and addressing siblings and parallel cousins younger than himself or in referring to cross-cousins; in reference in the latter cases an optional reference is allowed. In descending generations sex is specified in reference but not in address.

In ego's generation a dichotomy is made in classification on the basis of age older or younger than his own (see above), in the case of siblings and parallel cousins when referred to or addressed, and in the case of cross-cousins of the same sex as ego when addressed. In the first ascending generation ego's father's male siblings and parallel cousins are permissively dichotomized on the basis of age elder or younger than the father's, and ego's mother's female siblings and parallel cousins on the basis of age elder or younger than the mother's, in both cases by prefixing per-ŧuŋ "big-who is" and kur-ŧuŋ "small-who is" to the classificatory terms, either of reference or address.

The father is not distinguished in address or reference from his brothers and male parallel cousins, nor in address from his male cross-cousins; the mother is not distinguished in address or reference from her sisters and female parallel cousins, nor in address from her female cross-cousins. A step-parent is not distinguished in reference or address from a parent.

In ego's generation siblings by the same father are not distinguished in reference or address from children of the father's brothers or from children of the mother's sisters. There is a permissively used special term of reference for a man's brother who is a son of the same father, oŋtafn; e.g., oŧ en-oŋtafn-aŋi "he is my brother, the son of the same father as myself," oŋtafn-mox fuŋoŧi "do not seize the wife of (your) brother by the same father (i.e. do not carry her off as you may do with other men's wives and then have compensation [or] arranged by the tribal council)."[29] When special exactness is needed, descriptive phrase may be used.

In the first ascending generation there is a special term, both in reference and address, for the father's sisters and female parallel cousins, and this is also used for the mother's male siblings' and male parallel cousins' wives, and for ego's mother-in-law and her female siblings. Similarly, there is a special term for the mother's brothers and male parallel cousins, and this is used also for the father's female siblings' and female parallel cousins' husbands, and for ego's father-in-law and the latter's male siblings. In ego's generation the classificatory cross-cousin applies to all the children of those in the first ascending generation who are classed according to the preceding two sentences, except those who are affines; a spouse's siblings are not classed as ego's cross-cousins, unless they are really so. In the first descending generation a distinction is made in reference between two groups: (a) the children of one's siblings or parallel cousins of the same sex as oneself and of one's cross-cousins of the opposite sex from oneself (these are all descriptively distinguished, e.g., on-mox "elder brother's son," on-ŧuŋ-fid-mox-mox "my younger brother's son," naŧiŋ-ŋu-un-mox "female cross-

[29] Rivers, pp. 514-15. It is possible that oŋtafn is the word meant by Rivers (p. 484), erroneous.

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cousin's son," male speaking in all three cases), and (b) the children of one's siblings or parallel cousins of the opposite sex from oneself and of one's cross-cousins of the same sex as oneself (these are all man-mox [male],* man-gu:x [female], or may be distinguished descriptively, e.g., ekn-mox "elder sister's son," en-thuy-fod-mxan-mox "my younger sister's son," mo'ilig-mxan-mox "male cross-cousin's son," male speaking in all cases). The terms mxan-mox, mxan-gu:x are used also of the children of one's spouse's sibling of the opposite sex to that of one's spouse. Members of (a) are cross-cousins to members of (b). In address members of (a) and members of (b) are not distinguished. It will be noted that the sex of the speaker must be regarded in (a) and (b), as in the last paragraph on this page.

The terms of address that would apply to xxx's spouse's relatives if the spouse were a cross-cousin apply also to these relatives when the spouse is not a cross-cousin. That is, the basic equation for terms for affines is: cross-cousin = spouse. The only violation of the equation is found in that, man speaking, wife's sister is not equated with the daughter of father's sister or of mother's brother, and, woman speaking, husband's brother is not equated with the son of father's sister or of mother's brother. The basic equation also works with terms of reference in the ascending generations and in class (b) of the preceding paragraph for the first descending generation. In the spouse's own generation and in class (a) of that paragraph in the first descending generation descriptive terms of reference are used; e.g., en(k)-ka-nfaip-dan-eg "elder brother of my wife," en(k)-ka-nfaip-dan-ekn-mox "son of my wife's elder sister," en-o-fy-dan-ekn "my husband's elder sister," etc. A woman may refer to her husband's female siblings, real or classificatory within his patrilineal ab (mod), as mod-ekn, apparently irrespective of their relative ages; in address ordinary "sister" terms are used. This word, though itself a phrasal term, is in connotation a simplex, like mxan-mox and mxan-gu:x (cf. pp. 161 and this page above).

Two classes in the first ascending generation yield one class only in the second ascending generation, divided in terminology on the basis of sex, both in reference and address. Likewise, in the third and preceding ascending generations, though occasions for address are comparatively rare. Frequently, when no more exact reference is necessary, the terms for the second ascending generation are used for all preceding generations. In the second and succeeding descending generations no distinctions are made in address, and the same form is used as in the first descending generation (cf. p. 163). In reference descriptive terms are used, distinguishing the sex of the individual and the reference status of the individual's links with xxx as in the second paragraph above, (a) and (b); e.g., mxan-mox or mxah-fa-nfaip-mox "xxx's son," mxan-gu:x or mxah-fa-nfaip-gu:x "xxx's daughter," ka-mxan-mox or ka-mxah-fa-nfaip-mox "daughter's son," mxan-mxan-mox "xxx's son's son," nuding-mxan-mxan-mox "xxx's son of male cross-cousin."

"Husband" is *oef* in reference, *o-fye:* in address; "wife" is *tuyxan* in reference, *tuyxan-ja:* or *ka-tuyxe:* in address. When xxx is male, he addresses a female cross-cousin, even if she is

* Above, p. 158, queried whether mxan-mox denotes also a son-in-law who is not a sister's son. It is not used of him; he is *pnyd* (see p. 163); when reference is required *kxan-mox* "daughter's husband."

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not his wife, by the same terms that he uses for his wife; similarly, when 200 is female, she addresses a male cross-cousin, even if he is not her husband, by the same term that she uses for her husband. 601

Affines are referred to collectively as pojo·d; the same term includes also female affines. When the term refers to an individual, it may denote either male or female.

There is a special reference term for the wife of one's son (own son or the son of one's own brother), if she is not one's sister's daughter, viz. mont·kŏ (mont- as in mont·mun = "son's;" -kŏ [i.e. pŏ̈] is not otherwise found).

There is a special reference term used by a woman for the wife of her husband's brother by the same father (or fathers in a polyandrous marriage), viz. ŏnwuit. It may also be used of the woman in reference to this type of relationship. In address these women use to one another "sister" terms. The word is frequently combined with oppudn (cf. p. 163 above) in songs. When a woman laments her husband's death, if her husband had several brothers each married to a separate wife, she may sing:

·o·r·oppudn	·o·j·utkwuk
·o·r·ŏnwuit	kwuntkwuk (or, uay)·utkwuk)

"You (plural) were six (= an indefinite number) sons of one father; you (plural) made (or, caused to sit) six sisters-in-law (wives of brothers)." This may also be said in the words shouted during the dancing at a man's funeral.[a] When a man laments his brother, if he had several brothers each of whom had a separate wife, he may sing:

·o·r·oppudn	·o·j·utkwuk
·o·r·ŏnwuit	·o·j·utkwuk

"We (inclusive) were six (= an indefinite number) sons of one father: we (inclusive) were (having) six wives." When a man laments his wife under the same circumstances, he may sing:

·o·r·oppudn	·o·j·kwuwun
·o·r·ŏnwuit	·o·j·ŏtun

"We (inclusive) were six (= an indefinite number) sons of one father; you were one of six wives of the brothers."

The system is essentially classificatory, as is shown especially by the terms of address. It is used in this way by the Todas. Each member of a person's patrilineal sib is addressed by the appropriate classificatory vocative. It will be remembered from Rivers' treatment[b] that the classification is made even when the various families of a sib are unrelated so far as the Todas' genealogical knowledge goes; the convolution of generations is handed down by adoption and frequent use, and even when the links of a pedigree have been lost to memory, the correct terminology based on the last pedigree is maintained. Each male and female born to the sib is addressed with the appropriate term by every other member of the sib, and the persons related by marriage to and descent from the sib members are also addressed with 601 614

[a] See The Songs of the Todas, pp. 156-57. [b] Pp. 550-51.

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601 614 the appropriate terms. Similarly, the members of a matrilineal sib use the appropriate terms to one another, assigning the appropriate terms between any two individuals in the same way that it is done within the patrilineal sib, even when knowledge of the pedigree has been lost. An example may be given of the usage between members of matrilineal sibs. Tapper, son of the eldest of the men patrilineal sib (Teigudr, 4) and his wife UMER (Umer), is related to kayfuvadj of the keen patrilineal sib (Kanpuvadi, 14) as nephew to maternal uncle, addresses him with the vocative MAMAN, and is addressed as ENAN. Kayfuvadj addresses UMER as elder sister (AKKA), since his mother addressed her as daughter (ENAN); they are members of the same matrilineal sib but the pedigree is not known to the Todas.

Within each moiety of the tribe, the Todas may be related, when they are related, as members of the same patrilineal sib, as members of the same matrilineal sib, or by marriage. Frequently, between the same two individuals there is not only one relationship, but two or even three. The question arises as to which relationship takes precedence in determining the use of kinship terms. When this matter was investigated, it was found that the informants were quite articulate on the subject and gave an answer in general terms. Relationship within a matrilineal sib overrides any other relationship; of the other two, relationship by marriage overrides relationship within a patrilineal sib. Relationship by marriage may involve two marriage links, i.e. it is necessary for a Toda to address with the correct terms his wife's relatives by another marriage in her family. If the wife has a choice of terminology for any of her relatives by marriage, once she has determined the correct term, her husband adopts an appropriate term on the basis of his wife's usage, provided that he is not himself related to the person involved as co-member of a matrilineal sib, this relationship overriding all others. This statement also applies mutatis mutandis between a woman and her relatives by marriage. The general statement given by the informants is borne out by usage. A few examples will suffice.

Kamvaq (Kamvak, 21) calls MÖRKUM (Törükhkum, 23) father (EPAN) since they are members of the same patrilineal sib and related thus by generations. He should then by this relationship call the latter's son MOKWEMM younger brother (MOKW). But mafish (Mavish), mother of MOKWEMM, calls kamvaq elder brother (EPAN) by an untraceable relationship within a matrilineal sib. Consequently, MOKWEMM calls kamvaq maternal uncle (MAMAN).

Kayfuvadj (Kanpuvadi, 14) and pamvaq (Pamvag, 12) are brothers' sons within the same family, and the former should call the latter elder brother (EPAN). But kayfuvadj's mother pöthafifi (Pothavövi) called pamvaq's mother kupiafifi (Kupiavövi) grandmother (PAPAN) by an untraceable relationship within a matrilineal sib. Hence kayfuvadj calls pamvaq grandfather (PAN).

Kalgerum (Kalgerum, 15) is by relationship in the same patrilineal sib elder brother to kayfuvadj. The former's son TIVEVEQ should then be called by kayfuvadj son (MÖN). But the mother of TIVEVEQ, kuttil (Kuttil, 17), is by an untraceable relationship within a matrilineal sib grandmother to kayfuvadj, i.e. mother to his mother. Hence he calls her son maternal uncle (MAMAN).

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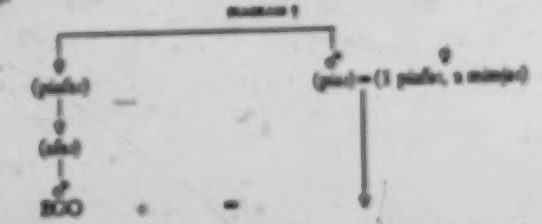
Pi:ḷḷpunu (Pi:ḷḷ-, 01) is by relationship within a patrilineal sib grandson to parents (Puneru, 23). By an untranslatable relationship in a matrilineal sib the latter is maternal uncle to the former and is called by him mamaṛ. The wives of these men were ammiṛ (Tammiṛ) married to pi:ḷḷpunu, and pa:rṇḷḷi (Parṇḷḷi) married to parents. If the men's relationship within a patrilineal sib had determined the terminology, ammiṛ would have called pa:rṇḷḷi grandmother (pa:ṭṭi). Since this relationship was overridden for the men, it was overridden for their wives also; following the terms used by the men, ammiṛ should have called pa:rṇḷḷi mi:ṇja: (here indicating husband's maternal uncle's wife). Actually, ammiṛ's mother oṛṛḷḷi (Aṛṛaṛṛḷḷi, 43) was sister to pa:rṇḷḷi, both being daughters of the same mother grandmother. Consequently, by this relationship in a matrilineal sib, ammiṛ called pa:rṇḷḷi mother (ammi).



In a hypothetical case, a man married the daughter of his mother's mother's brother. Previous to the marriage he called this man grandfather (pa:ṭṭi) because of relationship within the same matrilineal sib; after the marriage he retained the term, this relationship overriding in terminology the new relationship of father-in-law (mi:ṇja:). The older man's wife was called, prior to the marriage, grandmother (pa:ṭṭi), even if she had been of the same patrilineal sib as the younger man (affinal relationship overriding relationship in the same patrilineal sib). After the marriage she is called by the younger man mother-in-law (mi:ṇja:) even if she had been of the same patrilineal sib. In this case one relationship by marriage has preference over another, apparently the nearer marriage overriding the more distant. Unfortunately, this matter was not investigated further.

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One of the functions of the matrilineal sibs has appeared in this discussion of the kinship terminology. The primary function was shown in a previous paper[a] to be that of regulating marriage; no Toda may marry a person who is a co-member of a matrilineal sib. In another cultural context matrilineal sibs are of importance. This is in the matter of mourning for a dead person. This in general was treated by Rivers,[b] an account of the rules regulating

[a] Toda Marriage Regulations and Taboo.

[b] Pp. 369-71. One slight correction should be made in his account of the manner of wearing the hair (p. 369). Rivers there says that the hair must be tied in a knot in front. The real rule is that the hair must not be cut during the period of pollution. In general long hair is usually tied up in a knot in front so that is still not chosen the right.

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APPENDIX

Reference terms, classificatory

A *pokin*

B *pchif*; members of preceding generations may be referred to exactly as *mu:d-tal-fin*, *mu:d-tal-fuf* (great-great-grandparents), *nom-tal-fin*, *nom-tal-fuf* (great-great-great-grandparents), or they and the great-grandparents may all be referred to by grandparent terms.

C *pim*

D *pimf*

E *in*, *cfif*

F *af*, *afuf*

G *mun*, *munmun*

H *ming*, *minming*

I *on*, *onon*

J *okn*, *okrk*

The second entries are reduplicated forms which do not differ from the simplex forms in denotation; they are in connotation somewhat less formal, and no trace of them has been found in the song-language or in the address terms, formal or otherwise. For a preliminary discussion of the linguistic structure of the forms, see my paper *Echo-words in Toda* (New Indian Antiquary, Vol. 1, pp. 109–17, 1938), p. 113.

K *-tuuy-fuf* (*-tuun*, *-tu:n*; see p. 159)

L *nocinj* (*-o/* or *-tun*, *-tuqtun* or *-tu:n*)

M *tuun*

N *ku:n*

O *tun-tuun* (see pp. 161, 164)

P *tun-gu:n*

Q *tuun-kfi* (see p. 165)

X *o/*

Y *tuqtun*

Z *tuuf-okn* (see p. 164)

Reference terms, descriptive

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1. The husband of a female relative is referred to by *-n-o/* suffixed to the term by which she is referred to; e.g., *okn(n)-o/* "elder sister's husband," *en-tuuy-fedn-o/* or *en-tuuy-fed-tu:n-o/* "younger sister's husband" (in both cases if the husband is not *noo*'s cross-cousin, and permissively if he is), *nocinj-tu:n-o/* "female cross-cousin's husband" (if he is not *noo*'s brother), *ku:n-o/* "daughter's husband" (otherwise *pojo/*), *nun-gu:n-o/* "sister's daughter's husband (man speaking), brother's daughter's husband (woman speaking)" (unless he is *noo*'s son), *tuun-tu:n-o/* "son's daughter's husband," *ku:n-gu:n-o/* or *ku:nkfi:n-tfiny-tu:n-o/* "daughter's daughter's husband," *on(i)-ku:nfejn-dun-okn-o/* "my wife's elder sister's husband," *en-o/p-dun-okn-o/* "my husband's elder sister's husband" (see 4 below for discussion of *-dun* ~ *-tun*), etc. In most cases explicit description could be carried further, as *okny-fin tfiny-tu:n-o/* "elder sister's daughter's husband."

2. The wife of a male relative is referred to by *-(i)-kunfoj* (or *-(g)-gunfoj*, depending on certain grammatical rules) suffixed to the term by which he is referred to; e.g., *on(g)-gunfoj* "elder brother's wife," *en-tuuy-fed(i)-kunfoj* or *en-tuuy-fed-tuun(i)-kunfoj* "my younger

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brother's wife" (in both cases if the wife is not ego's cross-cousin, and permissively if she is), močiŋj-mox(k)-koɪtfoj "male cross-cousin's wife" (if she is not ego's sister), man-mox(k)-koɪtfoj "sister's son's wife (man speaking), brother's son's wife (woman speaking)" (unless she is ego's daughter), noɪt-mox(k)-koɪtfoj "son's son's wife," kuɪxn-mox(k)-koɪtfoj or kuɪxk-fæɪdfoj-mox(k)-koɪtfoj "daughter's son's wife," en(k)-koɪtfojn-dan-oŋ(g)-goɪtfoj "my wife's elder brother's wife," en-oɪ/n-dan-oŋ(g)-goɪtfoj "my husband's elder brother's wife," etc. Explicit reference can be carried further, as okŋ-fæɪdfoj-mox(k)-koɪtfoj "elder sister's son's wife."

3. The son or daughter of a relative is referred to (a) by suffixing -n-mox or -n-ɣuɪx (-n- need not be found) respectively to the term for the relative, or (b) by suffixing -k-fæɪdfoj-mox or -k-fæɪdfoj-xuɪx respectively (-k- may be replaced by -ŋ- depending on certain grammatical rules as in 2); e.g., oŋ-mox or oŋŋ-fæɪdfoj-mox "elder brother's son," oŋ-ɣuɪx or oŋŋ-fæɪdfoj-xuɪx "elder brother's daughter," en-ūɯr-fedn-mox or en-ūɯr-fedk-fæɪdfoj-mox" my younger sibling's son," kuɪx[n]-mox or kuɪxk-fæɪdfoj-mox "daughter's son," man-mox[n]-mox or man-moxk-fæɪdfoj-mox "sister's son's son (man speaking), brother's son's son (woman speaking)," en(k)-koɪtfojn-dan-okn(n)-mox or en(k)-koɪtfojn-dan-okŋ-fæɪdfoj-mox "my wife's elder sister's son," etc. Permissively for explicit reference we may find, e.g., en-okn(n)-mox or en-okŋ-fæɪdfoj-mox "my elder sister's son." A son's son is noɪt-mox (noɪt- = moxn; cf. p. 165), a son's daughter noɪt-xuɪx; a son's son's son is noɪt-mox-mox.

4. Other relatives of relatives may be referred to by suffixing -n- (which need not be found) plus the appropriate term. Most frequently -dan- or -ðan- (= tan; the variation depends on grammatical rules) is inserted after -n- or after the member which may end in -n-; e.g., en(k)-koɪtfojn-dan-on "my wife's elder brother," en(k)-koɪtfojn-[dan]-ūɯr-fed "my wife's younger sib'ling," en-in-[dan]-močiŋ "my father's cross-cousin." This tan is originally the reflexive pronoun of the 3rd person; it is used often enough in this sense, but more often with kinship terms as in the examples just given without any meaning that I have been able to discover (never, however, when a 1st or 2nd personal pronoun form would immediately precede it). Though it might mean in these uses "(his) own" there are some contexts where no question of the persons being "own" brothers or the like can arise. The reflexive force seems to have been lost in this use with kinship terms, and one is tempted to think that kinship terms are on the way to a grammatical state in which they will not occur without a pronominal reference, i.e. inalienable possession (in reference only, not in address). The reduplicated forms of E-J do not occur with tan preceding. A few other examples may be given: kūatæm-dan-əf "kūatæm's mother," piɲjaɪr-ðan-biin "piɲjaɪr's grandfather," i-oɪ/-ðan-man-mox "this man's sister's son," iðam-dan-mun "the maternal uncle of these men," in-dan-mun-öū-m "all the seven maternal uncles of this man," an-dan-oɪ/ "her husband," e(m)-muɪd-am tan-oŋa-m-oɪfemi "we (exclusive) three are brothers," iðæɪd-m tan-oŋ-m tan-ūɯr-fed-n-ūk-oč ucum "these two were living like brother and sister;" in one passage a snake's coming is referred to and the snake, not referred to previously, is called tan-e(f)-foɪb "the mother snake" and later on tan-in-foɪb "the father snake" comes. Cf. for other examples 1–3 above and pp. 159, 164.

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Terms of address

	Ordinary	Formal	
		Used by men	Used by women
a peβa: b peβafa:	or pia: piafa:	a and b same as for c and d	
c pia:		timbje:ʔ	(e)tjβaʔ
d piafa:		timbiafaʔ	(e)tjβafaʔ
e eja:		tjɛ:ʔ, tʃ:ʔ	(e)tjejaʔ
f afa:		tjafaʔ	(e)tjafaʔ
g muma:		tjɥ:ʔ	(e)tjmumaʔ
h mimja:		tjmimjaʔ	(e)tjmimjaʔ
i oɲa:		tjɛ:ʔ	(e)tjoɲaʔ
j oka:		tjokaʔ	(e)tjokaʔ
k enda:			
l ena:			
x oɪʃja:			
y toɣmoxja:, kuɪxja:			

[194] (The formal terms contain extra-phonemic phonetic material, the glottal stop, nasalized vowels, and initial consonant groups.)

601 In formal address a man, to a man whom he calls enda: or ena:, uses the latter's name
576 plus -es; e.g., kũaɲomes.

A man who is addressed formally by another man with the salutation timbje:ʔ, tjɛ:ʔ, or tjɥ:ʔ, answers tæ:m.

Older man or woman to younger woman when putting feet to the latter's forehead in salutation, i.e. in formal address: (e)tjfumeʔ.

Woman to younger male related to her within a patrilineal or matrilineal sib, by marriage or by "lover-mistress" relation, says, if he is of:

tõõñʃj moiety	(e)tjfokeʔ
toɪrõas moiety	
melgas patrilineal sib	(e)tjfokeʔ
kus patrilineal sib	(e)tjxenaʔ
noɪɲ, möɪr patrilineal sibs	(e)tjũũrõeʔ
toɪroɪr, köɪroɪr, nirj, mɲkitj, kerɯr, puɣgoɪr patrilineal sibs	(e)tjxũɯtɛʔ

601 Corresponding to these salutations, in a lament for her husband a woman uses the vocatives: mafokas, mafokas, manena:, mõõɯrõa:, mexũɯta:; cf. with these terms the Badaga classification of the Todas given by Rivers, pp. 541–42. A man in a lament for his wife uses the vocative mafena:; cf. the salutation (e)tjfumeʔ used by older man or woman to younger woman.

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Formal salutations are not used by a man to his female cross-cousins, or to any woman not related to him in a patrilineal or matrilineal sib, by marriage, or by a "lover-mistress" relation; nor by a woman to her male cross-cousins, or to any man not related to her in a patrilineal or matrilineal sib, by marriage, or by a "lover-mistress" relation.

There is an unfortunate omission in my material; it is not known how a man addresses his brother's wife and how a woman addresses her sister's husband. Husband-wife terms seem more probable than brother-sister terms, but the point needs to be investigated.

A further note should be added on the words mox and kuɪx. It will be seen that in reference the simplex terms mox = "son" (sometimes extended in a collective sense "children") and kuɪx = "daughter," and that as final members of terms they denote "male" and "female" respectively, but that in address neither is used in this sense, while kuɪxjɑɪ in address = "wife." Further, toɣmox "wife" is a combination of toɣ-, not otherwise found, and mox (the first element must be descriptive of the second, i.e. it is the wife who is some kind of mox). Kuɪx is used in texts often to mean "young woman." In the songs a wife is addressed, usually when a husband laments her death, with the vocative ɯsɑxuɪxjɑɪ, containing kuɪx; a husband, usually when a wife laments his death, with a vocative ɯsɑmoxjɑɪ, containing mox. Any child is addressed in songs with the pair: enmɑxubɑɪ, enmɑrjubɑɪ, containing mox in the meaning "child" and, equated with it, mɑrj which in prose means "offspring of animal (except buffalo) or bird." From a Toda point of view the basic meaning of kuɪx is probably "female" or perhaps "young female," all the other meanings developing from that. Mox is much more intractable, though the meaning "child, especially male child" may possibly be basic. The term ɯsɑmoxjɑɪ "husband!" could possibly have been derived from a practise whereby the wife adopted her mother-in-law's usage, but the conditions certainly do not exist in present-day usage, and on the whole such an explanation is dubious. Toɣmox would still be unexplained and will remain so until the prior element is explained.

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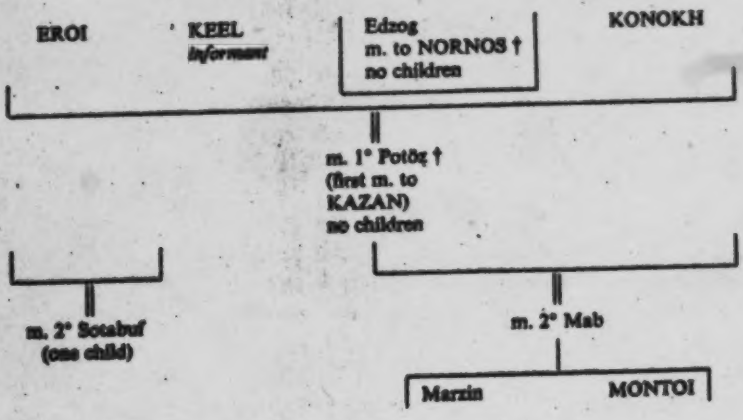
TABLE 21. GENEALOGY OF THE ARSHMAD OF KUUR (TEIVILKH) MODOL.



Note: This is how Keel described it to me, but according to Rivers it would seem that Eroi had been married twice before, Keel and Konokh once each respectively, and the girl, Edzog, at least four times previously, twice polyandrously to successively three and two husbands (see Rivers, *The Todas*, genealogical table No. 56). [587]

Males in capital letters
Females in small type
† = dead
m. = married

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595 [621] [592] his estimate. As it was, I found nearly always at least two polyandrous households in every single *mund* that I visited in 1939, and never one in which there was no polyandry.

At Or, a *mad* belonging to the Norsh *modol*, I found four brothers married to one woman, with the two elder brothers married to another woman, and living with her in another house a little further away. At Pakharkwur, a Karsh *mad*, a man named Nipö, already father of five girls, had lately been joined by his younger brother, because the latter had recently lost his wife, and the mother of the children had had to accept him as a husband as well. Here also, two other brothers had one wife in common, and, as in the previous case, had put up a separate household close-by. Another good example of polyandry among the Tardharsh moiety of the tribe (to which the above mentioned people belonged), was that of the Melgarsh *etumad* (chief *mad*), in which there were three older men sharing one wife, and their three sons married in the same way to a single woman. In a separate house of the *mad*, two cousins of the previous men had likewise a common wife between them. We shall return more fully to Melgarsh in the second part of this chapter, when the account of the special study which I made in 1949 of that *mad* will be given.

601 595 Among the Teivilkhs, I also found many polyandrous unions when I visited the Todas for the first time in 1939. Thus at Kiur, a Kuur *mad* I saw two brothers with one wife in common, the mother of one child. At Arsh *mad* (Badaga name: Anekkalmund), belonging to the same Kuur *modol* of the Teivilkh, I met Eroï, Keel and Konokh (56), the last two living polyandrously with a woman called Mab, after they had earlier shared another one called Potöz. I found these people so friendly and interesting that I stayed some time with them in order to become better acquainted with their history and way of living.

On June 19th, 1939, I made their genealogy, which was then as recorded in Table 21.

[584] Potöz, to whom the three brothers had earlier been married polyandrously, had herself first been betrothed, I was told, to her *matchuni* Kazan, at the age of two, as is the Toda custom. When she came of age, however, after due compensation had been paid to Kazan's family, she married the three brothers from Arshmad, but fell ill very early and died before she could bear them any children.

[467] [587] Then the following occurred: Eroï found employment as a government peon, and decided to leave the association. He married the girl called Sotabuf, took away one third plus two of the buffaloes owned

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jointly by himself and by his brothers, and founded his own home elsewhere (at Kuudi *nad*, of the Pietarl *modòl*). After he had left, the next eldest brother, Keel, went and asked Mab's parents if he and his brother Konokh could marry their daughter. The latter was already married, and so a long discussion ensued about how many buffaloes should be paid in compensaion to the husband. Finally an amount of nine buffaloes was decided upon between Mab's father and the *noim*, called together specially to decide the case, (the husband was blissfully oblivious of all this, as is usual; had he discovered what was going on, he could have summoned Keel before the *noim* to explain himself and have asked for him to be fined if he did not really marry his wife Mab). Keel thought this amount of nine buffaloes too much, and departed in a huff, taking the other third plus two of the buffaloes with him. Konokh, more accommodating, however, accepted, and Mab became his.

Soon after her first pregnancy and before the birth of Marzin (for whom Konokh, the only husband at the time, gave the bow and arrow), Mab's father died. On hearing this, Keel decided to return home, and to share his brother's wife with him. Fortunately he had not married in the meantime, otherwise he would not have been allowed back, it seems. He had first to obtain the consent of Mab, of her mother, of her brothers and of Konokh, and having been given permission, he joined the marriage as a second husband. He brought the buffaloes he had taken away with him back again, gave one to Konokh and one to Mab's brothers, merging the remainder with those of his brother so as to share them jointly as before. He also paid Rs. 3 to the *noim* to regularize his reunion and make it publicly recognized. Montoï, the boy, was born later, the fruit of this polyandrous marriage, but Konokh remained the official father, as he, although the youngest, had performed the *pursiitpimi* in the first instance.

The arrangements about buffaloes as described above are by no means the usual ones with Todas, each man generally owning his own, even in polyandrous arrangements. Contrary to other people who practise polyandry, the Todas do not habitually share their property in common, and do not fear to divide it. Practically their only wealth consists of their herds of buffaloes, and these they distribute among themselves regardless of their family attachments. With the Todas it can definitely be said that polyandry and the ownership of property are in no way related. We shall see some good examples of this when we analyse to whom the buffaloes of Melgarsh individually belong.

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601 123 [843] It was when Sotabuf was expecting her first baby that I was able to see for myself the *urvatpimi* ceremony described by Rivers in his book (*The Todas*, p. 315 and fol.). This was on the 12th July, 1939, when the child was expected to be born four months later. I never found out of what sex it eventually turned out to be, and have thus had to leave this unspecified in the above genealogy. In 1949, when I was in the Nilgiris [164] for the second time, Keel fell seriously ill with a bladder infection. I took him to the local hospital, where the doctor and staff did what they could to help, but to no avail. He died shortly afterwards, and his body [578] was cremated on the 1st September. Incidentally, it was at this funeral [682] that Tödhen, mentioned above, was allegedly poisoned by Piliar (52) with the ensuing results which I have described earlier (see p. 266).

601 614 With a classificatory kinship system such as the Todas use, there is not much distinction in the appellations used to designate the various fathers that a man may have. The generic term for father is *In* or *Aia*, the latter being employed more often as the form of address. These names are used to describe not only one's own immediate fathers, but also all those elders of the *modol* and of the *polkhliol* which are classified as such: males of the clan who are the same generation as the fathers, and husbands of the sisters of the mother, including husbands of all those who are of the same clan and same generation as the mother. Elder fathers (that is, both real and classificatory) are known as *Perudaia*, while younger ones are called *Karudaia*. In the Melgarsh family, of which I made a special study, while Pads was the *In* or *Aia* because he had given the bow and arrow to Silidz, Karnoz, being the elder, was [595] *Perudaia* and Purshwuö, the youngest, *Karudaia*. But these appellations could just as well have been used to designate elder and younger classificatory fathers of the clan and mother-sib, and as such are unreliable to distinguish between the different immediate fathers whom children of polyandrous households may have.

595 With the Todas, a very conservative and patriarchal people, the rule of primogeniture is strictly observed. Whereas among other polyandrous people, I found that dominance at home was more a question of personality than of seniority among the fathers, with the Nilgiri tribe, the eldest brother is always considered the head of the family, even if a younger one has given the common wife the bow and arrow, and is thus publicly recognized as the legal father of the offspring. There is only one case in which he may relinquish his rights, and that is if he has left with another woman and his share of buffaloes to put up a separate household of his own. Thus Karnoz at Melgarsh, after he had

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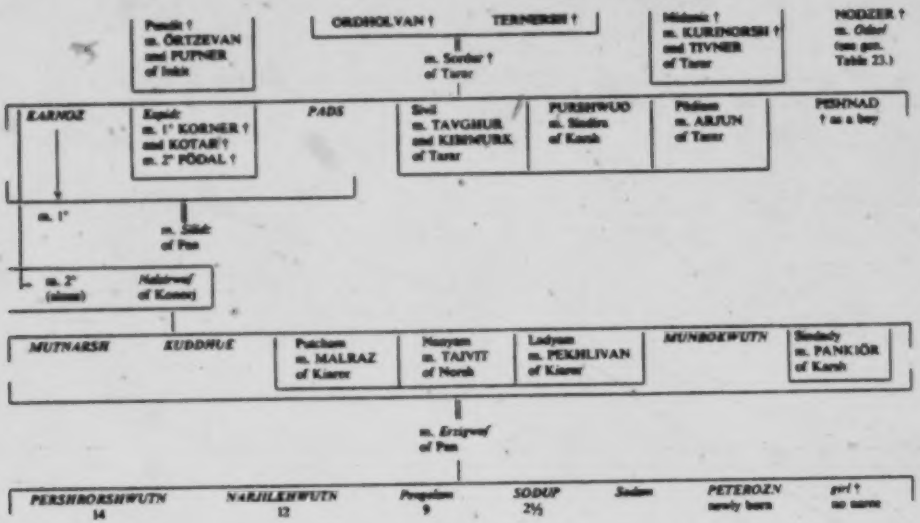
[facing p. 276]

TABLE 22. GENEALOGY OF MELGARSH (TARDHARSH) MODOL: THE PRINCIPAL FAMILY OF THE MELGARSH ETUMAD.



Note: The name of the clan to whom outsiders belong is given after the name of someone married. The ages of the children are given in figures below their names.

Conventional signs as in Table 21.

609
621
614

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TABLE 24. GENEALOGY OF MELGARSH (TARDHARSH) MODOL: DESCENDANTS OF GT. GT. GT. GRANDFATHERS FROM ANOTHER MARRIAGE.

Conventional signs as in Tables 21 and 22.

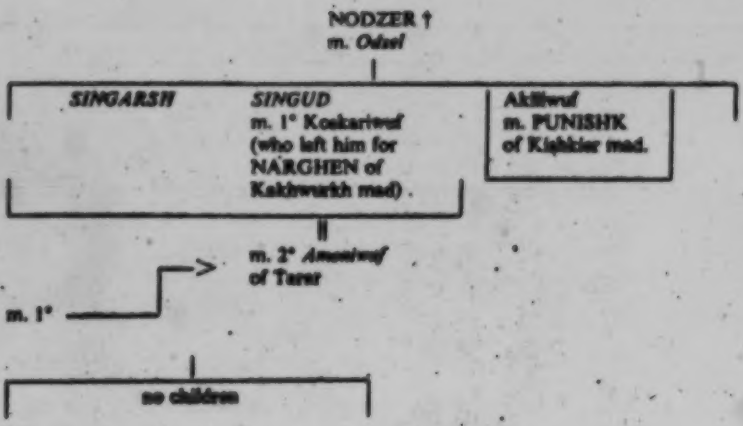
[facing p. 278]

601
621
614

13: Peter E-5 (1939, 1949) 1963 AW60 Toda AW60

601
621
614

TABLE 23. GENEALOGY OF MELGARSH (TARDHARSH) MODOL: DESCENDANTS OF NODZER LIVING AT MELGARSH MAD.



Conventional signs as in Tables 21 and 22.

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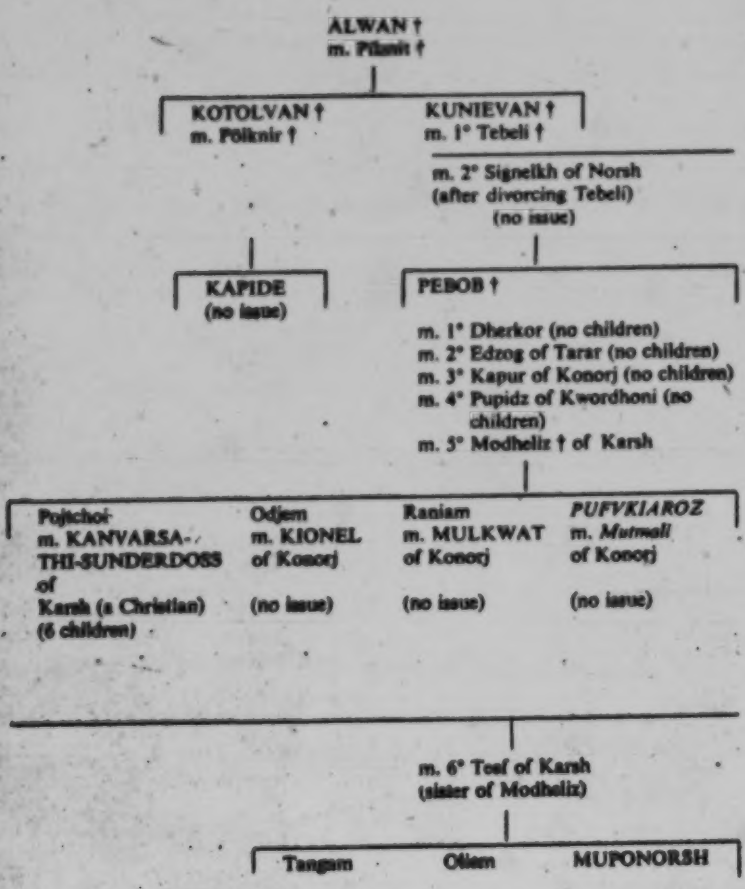
TABLE 25. GENEALOGY OF MELGARSH (TARDHARSH) MODOL: DESCENDANTS OF THE GT. GT. GT. GRANDFATHER ALWAN.

601
621
614



Conventional signs as in Tables 21 and 22.

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be little doubt that this condition must have been very remote" (Rivers, 1906, p. 547).

How, then, does Emeneau discover matrilineal clans? To answer this question, let us consider the marriage rules. First, the terminology: it is not reproduced here, but there is agreement among all writers that it is of the usual Dravidian type and identical in structure to those we have described for Ceylon. As Emeneau notes, it turns around the proposition that "spouse = cross-cousin." Hence the MB is also father-in-law and FZH, and so on. Again, it is quite clear that all marriages must take place between the persons in the categories of *matchuni* (cross-cousins). Both Rivers and Emeneau note that mistakes occur and that they are disapproved of; and Emeneau provides important examples of how the kinship terminology must be altered after a mistake has taken place.

Even though there are mistakes, the correct union is the marriage of *matchuni*. Rivers (1906) states the rule unequivocally: "While marriage with the daughter of a father's brother and a mother's sister is prohibited, the daughter of a father's sister or a mother's brother is the natural wife of a man" (p. 512). The clearest recognition of the rule is to be seen in the funeral ceremonies of an unmarried girl. Like the Nambudiri Brahman in Malabar, the Toda do not risk letting women out of their control unmarried. The system must be closed and hence the girl even in death must be firmly married. In the final funereal and tragic bow-and-arrow ritual, "the husband always stands in the relation of matchuni to the wife" (p. 514).

The position seems to us clear enough, but Rivers does not always follow his own logic. He goes astray in trying to translate the matter into English: "While marriages between *matchuni* are the rule and marriages between the children of *matchuni* [1] certainly not unlawful, we have seen that marriage with the child of a *matchuni* [2] is prohibited. From our point of view, this means that while marriage with a first cousin is orthodox, marriage with a first cousin once removed is unlawful, while again it seems that marriage with a first cousin twice removed may be lawful" (1906, p. 513; my numerals).

We need hardly point out that in these categorical systems persons in situation (1) are again directly *matchuni* to each other, whereas those in situation (2) are in the position of son or daughter. Rivers' ethnography is so detailed that the basic pattern comes through very clearly, even though many further questions may be raised. Emeneau has much greater difficulty. He seems to think simply in terms of exogamy. The patrilineal clan is "exogamous." What, then, of the children of the sisters of the mother? It is here that he reifies the *puliol* into a matrilineal "sib": "One of the *functions* of the matri-

4: Yalman E-4,5 (1954-1956) 1971 AX4 Sinhalese
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114 lineal sib has appeared in this discussion of the *kinship terminology.*
582 The *primary function* was shown . . . to be that of *regulating mar-*
614 *riage;* no Toda may marry a person who is a co-member of a matri-lineal sib" (Emeneau, 1941, p. 167; my italics).

114 Note also how the terminology operates: ". . . even when the
60[lines of a pedigree have been lost to memory the correct terminology
614 based on the lost pedigree is maintained. Each male and female born to the sib is addressed with the appropriate term by every other member of the sib, and persons related by marriage to and descent from the sib members are also addressed with the appropriate terms" (p. 165).

[171] It is clear that the terminology is operating in the same way as the categories of marriage we have seen in Ceylon, but even though this is a particularly impressive use of language in channeling social behavior, Emeneau wants to link the prohibitions to "exogamy" of one kind or another.

114 The entire case turns around the use of an admittedly difficult key
602 word, *puliol.* Rivers is quite specific about the use of this term. To
614 him it implies certain "prohibited relations": (1) FBD, (2) MZD, (3) FZ, ZD, (4) FFZD (1906, p. 509), and he notes in an important passage p. 509): ". . . if a man thought of a given woman, he thought of her as one, or not one of his puliol, and it seemed to me in several cases as if it came almost as a new idea to some of the Todas that his puliol included all the people of his own clan."

It is a compliment to River's perceptiveness as an ethnographer that he has here detected a subtle matter which gives a good indication to the kin structure of the Toda. He is not really mistaken; it is just
[582] that the Toda do not think of the *mad* as exogamous, just as the Sin-
[171] halese simply do not think in terms of exogomy, but of prohibited and enjoined "categories."

To Emeneau this passage merely means that Rivers mistakenly includes the clansmen in the puliol who are only the matri-sib members. In trying to fit the recalcitrant facts into his argument he gives many examples which indicate that he has misunderstood this classificatory system:

> [Rivers' fourth category (above)] . . . the daughters of the sisters of his father's father gave him trouble because of the two cases of marriage to such persons found in the genealogies. *The truth is that such marriages are not forbidden.* The sisters of a man's paternal grandfather are not poljo:l to him, but urd mort kva:dvoj; they cannot have married his urd mort kva:dvoj; and their daughters will not be related to him in any prohibited way. The rule given that a person must not marry the child of his . . . matchuni, i.e., cross-cousin . . . is incorrect. His cross-cousin may have married a man of

4: Yalman E-4,5 (1954-1956) 1971 AX4 Sinhalese
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114 602 cannot assume that wherever we have marriage prohibitions we must also find exogamous lineages.

[171] In fact, on the basis of Rivers' evidence, the Toda can be established as a particular instance of the general structure described for Ceylon. The crucial indices are present: (1) Cross-cousin categories associated with the systematic Dravidian terminology and marriage rules; and (2) the formally recognized rights and obligations between (MB-ZS) (FZ-BD) and between cross-cousins of either type. The tabulation of Toda requirements will establish them as using the same general structure described above.

MB-ZS	F-S
ZS named by MB (Rivers, 1906, p. 332) (BD named by FZ p. 332)	Handburning (p. 315)
Hair cutting and naming by MB (p. 333)	Bow-and-arrow ritual (pp. 319 f.) before birth to establish paternity
Ear-piercing by MB (p. 334)	Uncover boy's face (p. 331)
Funeral: ZS to supply buffalo; for child MB (also S-in-L)	F chief mourner at funeral
Name of MB and F-in-L tabooed to ZS (and S-in-L) (p. 494)	S chief fourner at funeral
ZS gives cord tied around corpse of MB	Cutting of lock of hair at funeral by "son, brother, or father"
Special ceremonial exchanges at funeral	
Matchuni (Cross-cousins)	Brothers
Important role in funerals (p. 499)	No special ceremonial obligations outstanding
Special ceremonial acts while eating together, crossing rivers, etc.	
Special role of male *matchuni* at funeral of female *matchuni*	
Male and female *matchuni* proper sexual mates	

171 582 601 602 The similarities between the Toda kin structure and the Kandyan Sinhalese go far beyond the superficial. Emeneau rightly observed, for instance, that "these fundamental rules [i.e., the prohibitions inherent in the terminology] govern not only marriage but also all sexual relationships" (1937, p. 104). The same is, of course, true of the Kandyans. It is because the rules of mating are clearly established that the actual connection between the husband and wife can be extremely tenuous. And since paternity is legally and publicly established at the bow-

4: Yalman E-4,5 (1954-1956) 1971 AX4 Sinhalese
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and-arrow ceremony of the Todas, the position of the child in the kin group is not in any doubt. We cannot argue that wherever we have the general structure we shall also find a loose or easily alterable connection between the spouses, but we can argue that the orderliness of marriageable and nonmarriageable kin categories permits a wide definition of the connection between the spouses: it can mean simply "intercourse," or, as in southern Ceylon, it can create a unique estate and a lasting bond between the pair. The open possibility of the loose connection clearly makes both polyandry and polygyny possible among people who utilize some version of the general structure. We shall look at further examples later on.

The similarity between the kin structure of the Toda and the peoples discussed in Ceylon is hardly surprising. There have been many close contacts between Ceylon and the mainland. Not only does the culture give an impression of underlying similarity but the similarity sometimes persists when pursued to the particulars of ceremonies. Thus the gift of a cloth at the union of a man and woman is a custom found among the Toda, the Sinhalese, and many castes on the Malabar coast. Again, the white cloths which are placed on the corpse by the Kandyan Sinhalese are found among the Toda (and Nayar) though each community puts this cloth to different use.

The further similarity, too, in such key words as *ichchil* (pollution) in Toda and *kili* in Sinhalese, or *matchuni* (Toda for cross-cousin) and *massina* (Sinhalese), and many others increases the impression that we are dealing with variations on a common theme.[4] It is the fundamental features common to both systems which have engaged our attention: it could certainly not be claimed that structural similarity goes beyond the fundamentals. But that is the point: each community in this region uses a variety of special customs to set itself off from others. The manner of wearing clothes, different types of sari and dress, bodily marks—all these are well known. But it appears that the process has been carried even into matters of structural importance, so that one community will have a certain kind of marriage simply in order to distinguish itself even more from another community.

TANJORE ADI DRAVIDA AND BRAHMAN

Although many books have been written by scholars and others on the multifold aspects of Southeast India, those that deal with kinship are few, and of recent date. Our conclusions must, of necessity, be limited

[4] The intriguing similarity between the manner of wearing their robes by the Toda priests (who handle the sacred milk) and by Buddhist monks elsewhere is obviously hardly an accident.